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MEMOIRS AND PAPERS

OF

SIR ANDREW MITCHELL, K.B.

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MEMOIRS AND PAPERS

OF

SIR ANDREW MITCHELL, K.B.,

ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY FROM THE COURT OF GREAT BRITAIN TO THE COURT OF PRUSSIA, FROM 1756 TO 1771.

BY ANDREW BISSET,

OF LINCOLN'S INN, BARRISTER-AT-LAW, AND M.A. TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

IN TWO VOLS.

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MEMOIRS AND PAPERS.

MEMOIRS OF

SIR ANDREW MITCHELL, K. B.

CHAPTER XI.

JOURNAL.—1758.[1]

THE 31*st of December*, arrived from Berlin at Frankfort upon the Oder; the weather extremely cold.

The next day, the 1*st of January*, to Crossen, where I met the Marquis d'Argent; he told me what the King of Prussia had wrote to him concerning the Abbé de Prades.

The 2*nd.*—By Grünberg, Freystadt, and Neustadtel, to Glogau, where we arrived the 3rd at four in the morning, having had the misfortune to be overturned upon the road between Neustadtel and Glogau.

Staid the 4*th*, 5*th*, and 6*th*, at Glogau.

7*th.*—Set out from Glogau by Polchwitz, Lüben, and arrived at Parckwitz.

[1] Printed verbatim from a paper book entitled "Journal, 1758," being Mr. Mitchell's Diary from 31st Dec. 1757 to 27th August, 1758, in the hand-writing of Mr. Burnet, Mr. Mitchell's secretary, and apparently written in part from Mr. Mitchell's dictation, and in part copied from some rough sheets of a Journal from 21st April to 9th May, 1757, in Mr. Mitchell's hand-writing.

The 8th.—From Parckwitz by Neumarck to Breslaw. Saw the field of battle between Neumarck and Lissa, and the village of Leuthen; the weather very fine, but the ground all covered with a deep snow.

The 8th.—At night the King hearing of my arrival at Breslaw sent for me to supper.

As my letters to the Earl of Holdernesse contain everything material that passed during my stay at Breslaw to the 15th of March that the King of Prussia set out Grüssau, and as nothing happened after material to the 3rd of April that I received a letter from the King desiring me to join him directly at Grüssau.

I set out the next morning, the 4th of April, by Neumarck, and lay at Stringau.

The next day, the 5th, by Hohnfriedberg, Reichenau, to Landeshut. The roads extremely difficult in the mountains by reason of the snow was not yet melted. The villages in the mountains of Silesia are very long; houses built of wood and clay, and all disjoined.

6th.—I waited on the King at Grüssau, a convent situated in the middle of a plain surrounded on all sides with hills covered with firr-wood. Here the King lodged, a very cold quarter.

The King received me very kindly, said he should get affairs settled to his liking, that Knyphausen had wrote to him from Hamberg, that Yorke had said if only my stay was desired, that would be easily settled.

His Majesty then asked me if I had any other views, and if I chose rather to be elsewhere than with him.

I answered that I should leave his Majesty's presence with regret, but begged in the present circumstances that he would leave all personal considerations out of the question and think only of publick affairs; that wherever I was, and in whatever situation, I should not be less zealously attached to his interest. The King then replyed that he sent for me to concert what was proper to be done, as he found Mr. Yorke was already arrived at Hambourg and upon the road hither; that he was resolved to speak freely to *Yorke*, and to let me know that he would not be governed by Mr. Pitt. I refused, says he, being governed by Kings, and I will not be governed by him. Do you know, says he, Mr. Pitt's system? It is to humble France without hurting it or doing it any harm. [This man, sure, cannot be a great politician.[2]] We then went to dinner, and I had no more private conversation. I returned to Landeshutt.

7*th*.—Staid at Landeshutt, dined with General Retzow.

8*th*.—Dined with Margrave Charles at Landeshut. I received in the afternoon a letter of confidence from the King, enclosing a copy of a letter of Count Finkenstein's to his Majesty, in which all the conversation that minister had with General Yorke was very fully detailed.

This generous and open behaviour on the part of the King, as it showed in the strongest manner his inclination that I should remain with him, made me resolve to sacrifice everything to his inclination, and to

[2] The words within brackets are not in his journal, but are inserted from his "Narrative of General Yorke's mission, in his own hand-writing."

alter the resolution I had taken of returning directly to England so soon as General Yorke was arrived.

9th.—I waited on the King at Grüssau to thank his Majesty for this new mark of confidence, and to suggest to his Majesty that as I saw by Count Finkenstein's letter that his Majesty's not signing the Convention was only the pretence made use of for recalling of me to cover the true cause (which I imagined to be my having insisted too warmly for the sending of British troops upon the Continent, and other vigorous measures), I submitted to his Majesty if it might not be proper that he should take an opportunity of declaring to Mr. Yorke the strong and frequent solicitations I had made to his Majesty to sign the Convention, as well as to desist from insisting upon the measure of British troops being sent upon the Continent. This he very frankly promised to do, adding, that he would not fail to do me justice.

Having the night before received a letter from General Yorke, of a very extraordinary tenore, I had answered it very shortly and civilly by Cleverly, the messenger that brought it.—See the letter.

In the evening on the 9th, on my return from Grussau, I found General Yorke arrived at Landeshut. He had brought along with him, by way of travelling compagnon, Sir John Goodrick, who was named Resident to Sweden, and who, the General told me, was a man of most excellent parts. The only proof I had of this, was that the Knight seemed to be a humble admirer, and swore to everything the General said.

The General had brought likewise with him two messengers, who were kept very alert, as he was resolved to do much business.

I visited him in the quarters I had provided for him so soon as I returned from Grussau, and shall here give a fair account of the conversation.

After the usual salutation, he told me pretty plainly that all this had happened from my not corresponding with him; that he would have given me hints that would have prevented all this, for things were quite changed, &c., for that he was fully informed of every thing by his sister, &c.: that Mr. Pitt was very angry at something, but would not declare at what, though he had been pressed to it by Lord Hardwick and other ministers; that all the other ministers were against my recall, except Mr. Pitt; that the King himself had said the kindest things of me, but that Mr. Pitt was very jealous, and would not speak out.

Mr. Yorke then told me that he had read my correspondence till he came to one letter, he believed in the month of July or August, in which I had said, or seemed to say, that if the King of Prussia was ruined, it was the fault of the English administration; that he then stopped, but afterwards made an appology for me to the ministers from the unhappy situation I was then in.

I answered, I was much obliged to him for his good intentions, but that I remembered no such letter; that I had wrote according to what I felt and saw; that I thought it my duty to inform the King's ministers of

the truth, and what I should think my duty to do again in the like circumstances; that perhaps the immediate view of danger might have occasioned my making use of strong expressions, about which I would not dispute, as they were intended only to rouse from that lethargy that seemed to have seized the whole administration.

I asked, by way of conversation, how the Duke of Cumberland stood with the King; he told me he was detested by the King, and that Mr. Pitt said, that the way I had wrote had perhaps occasioned the Duke's signing the Convention of Closter-Zeven; to which I only answered, I was glad to find that Mr. Pitt wanted to excuse the Duke, and added cooly, that the imputation was absolutely groundless as my correspondence would show.

The General then assured me that he had come unwillingly; that it was put upon him; and that he had no intention to stay. But I could easily see, notwithstanding all these declarations, that he was by no means averse to the commission, and that he thought he could not fail of captivating the King of Prussia; he added, that the King my master told him that it would be agreeable to him that I should stay here, but that he would send Lord Hyneford, or any body else the King of Prussia pleased; that Mr. Pitt was now everything in England; that he had joined the tories by the Duke of Newcastle's approbation; that he, Pitt, thought as we did, but that he was fettered by his connections and former declarations.

That now the King of Prussia, having given orders

to sign the Convention (which he, Yorke, foretold would happen), his mission was now of no utility. I answered, I thought it might still be of the greatest, as he could explain the interior of our situation to his Prussian Majesty.

He then produced to me his instructions, which are verbatim taken from Lord Holdernesse's translated letter to me of the 25th of February, 1758, that he, Yorke, had insisted for additional instructions, not thinking these sufficient, which are in substance that he, Yorke, shall sound the King of Prussia what lengths he will go in a more extensive alliance with England.

2°. Whether, if the French should pass the Rhine, the Hanover army may not be employed to clear the country of Cleves and Mark, and to open the way into the Elector of Cologne's country, and to the plentifull country of the Palatinate.

3°. To discover what impressions the progress of Prince Ferdinand has made upon the King of Prussia.

4°. To acquaint his Prussian Majesty with the efforts England was making at the Courts of Sweden and Constantinople, and of the credit sent to the last.

I showed the General Lord Holdernesse's letter to me; told him I intended to deliver my recredentials to-morrow to the King of Prussia. He said he thought I should delay it at least till the return of a messenger from England. I answered, I had no objection, provided he would take upon him, for that I should consider myself as suspended from acting from that moment.

During this conversation I insinuated to the General that I was greatly surprised that the translated letter of the 25th of February, which I was directed to put into the King of Prussia's hands, had assigned for reason of my recal his Prussian Majesty's not signing the Convention, though his Prussian Majesty knew that that measure had been resolved on at least four weeks before they knew whether that Convention would be signed or not, that Lord Holdernesse had notified my recall in an office letter of the 17th February.

Mr. Yorke appeared a good deal disconcerted with this remark, and he never could get a sight of that letter from Lord Holdernesse. I answered, there was nothing in the letter but a simple notification, and that he was destined to succeed me ; that I would willingly show him the letter, but had left it at Breslaw, with other papers. Mr. Yorke then expressed some indignation against Mr. Pitt for having wrote the letter of the 28th February,[3] to which he said Lord Holdernesse had only put his name that every word of it was Mr. Pitt's drawing.

Our conversation concluded with assuring me that Mr. Pitt was now the sole man, and was to govern absolutely the next reign, and insinuated that it would be prudent to write to him, and asked me if I was acquainted with Lord Bute, without whom, he said, there would have been no administration. I answered, I was very well acquainted with Lord Bute, but would not on this occasion trouble him, nor anybody else, to

[3] I have not been able to find this letter. It appears to be missing.—A. B.

make acknowledgements in my name, when I was conscious I had not done wrong. This is the substance of our first conversation.

10*th.*—Went to Grussau,[4] and I presented the General and Sir John to the King, who came down and received them in the Adjutant's room. The King talked in general of the affairs of Sweden, and said that if a check happened they might perhaps be glad of terms which he was willing to give them, out of his regard to the Queen of Sweden, to whom he promised he would write by Sir John, but that discretion must be used in delivering of the letter, not to raise any jealousy. The King then named some people at the Court of Sweden that might be usefull. I took the liberty to suggest that if his Majesty would be pleased to address Sir John to Count Finkenstein, who had himself been in Sweden, and other ministers at Berlin, from whom he might receive further lights with regard to that Court. This is all that passed concerning Sweden, and is the substance of the only conversation Sir John ever had with the King of Prussia.

After this the King retired into his appartment above stairs and sent for General Yorke and me. As I was resolved not to be present at this audience, I said to the General, as we were going up stairs, that I would desire the King to dispense with my being present; with which, as the General seemed pleased, I stepped in first

[4] I carried my recredentials with me, and offered again to present them, but General Yorke insisted I should not. This happened in the coach, as we were on the way, and Sir John Goodrick was present.

to the King's room, and begged that his Majesty would be pleased on this occasion to suffer me to withdraw, he answered briskly, "*non il faut que vous restez ici,*" to which I replied, that perhaps General Yorke might have things to communicate which he would not choose to mention before me, and that, as I might happen to be partly the subject of the conversation, I submitted to his Majesty whether it was proper that I should be present. To these instances the King yielded in good humour, and desired me to call in Mr. Yorke. As he entered, the King said, "*voila Monsieur Mitchell qui ne veut pas rester avec vous, il s'excuse par delicatesse et je le laisse faire ;*" upon this I retired. This audience lasted an hour and an half, and I do not know what passed, for the General gave me no account ; only he told me in the coach, that the King had done me great justice ; but he seemed not pleased that his Majesty had talked so much, and suffered him to say so little, and added, he must have another audience to clear up several points.

In the evening Major Marwitz wrote me that the King desired I would bring these gentlemen to dinner next day.

11*th.*—We went to Grussau. The King sent for the General to his chamber before dinner. In this conversation he expressed his satisfaction with the assurances General Yorke had given him the day before of the Hanover army being employed for his service, but hoped there would be no occasion. He said he could not advise Prince Ferdinand's passing the Rhine,

unless the Dutch declared. Yorke asked what assurances he might give of his entering into any further alliance with England, in order to induce the Dutch to come in. The King of Prussia answered, he was willing to join with his Majesty in any treaty for that purpose, but could give no immediate assistance. Perhaps, added he, towards the autom, if things go well, I may be able to give some assistance ; and he then entered into a detail of his own situation, and, after enumerating his enemies, he concluded by saying, he had more than Louis the XIV.

He said, the Russians, perhaps, by the month of July, may advance with their legion, &c., that he would then detach 35m men to fight them in Poland towards Warsaw; that they were fortifying Elberg, Thorne, and Marienwerda, and entrenching themselves behind the *Vistula;* that he did not intend to attack Stralsund, *Lehwald* having missed the opportunity of passing into the Isle of *Rugen;* that in Saxony he had 27m men ; that if he had the good fortune to beat the Austrians, perhaps they might make a separate peace, in which case he had no objection to act offensively against France, *et qu'il seroit heureux avant de meurir de pouvoir porter le flambau à Paris;* at this the King observing that I happened to smile, asked me the reason ; I replied, *que je pensais du plaisir que j'aurois a moucher le flambeau.*

The King then entered into a discussion about Flandres, Ostende, Neuport, &c. Yorke said that the Dutch might perhaps be brought to push for the

evacuation of those places and so be brought in to join by degrees.

The King said our administration had done nothing all last year, but he approved much of the vigorous measures they were now pursuing; he added, Mr Mitchell has urged me very much at different times to persuade me to desist from the measure of sending English troops upon the Continent, but I have insisted upon it for your good and as a right measure. Upon this Mr. Yorke said, that he had wrote volumes upon the same subject, but that the administration had not taken offence at what he had wrote.

At dinner the King talked of the French and of the battle of Fontenoi; the relation Mr. Yorke made of that battle did not agree with the accounts his Majesty had had of it. The King desired us to dine with him again the next day.

In the coach Mr. Yorke did not seem to be in good humour, nor much edified with the conversation. He said he believed Prince Ferdinand was as good a General as the King of Prussia, and to prove it, quoted a saying of Mr. Pitt's, *There must be more than one General in Europe.*

I visited Marshal Keith in the evening at Landeshut, who was indisposed. In conversation he told me he computed the strength of our army here at 86 batalions and 125 squadrons; that by the best accounts he had last year of the French army in Germany, according to the *Tabelle*, they should have been 126m men. He told me, in confidence, by a letter he had from Prince

Ferdinand of Brunswick, he was sorry to find that his operations were not to extend beyond the Weser, that if he stopped there he had done nothing. I answered, that whatever might have been the project of the Hanover ministers, I could assure him the Prince would do more, that I had it from the King of Prussia himself, who had advised him to push as far as he could with safety.

12*th.*—Being a good deal indisposed, I excused myself from going to Grussau, but sent my coach to carry the General and Sir John; and the General gave no account of any conversation he had with the King this day.

13*th.*—General Yorke showed me his publick letters giving an account of the audiences he had had with the King of Prussia, or rather those his Prussian Majesty had had of him, and carefully avoided saying anything of our inaction in the year 1757, nor of the measure of sending English troops, though the King of Prussia spoke out very plainly upon both. He likewise shewed me a private letter, giving an account of what the King of Prussia had said in justification of my conduct, but that is stated very lamely, and rested only upon that point of the King of Prussia not signing the Convention. The letter concludes about the Prince of Hesse's apprehensions of his breaking his marriage in order to marry again; affairs of the country of Hanover, &c., &c.

14*th.*—Much snow fell last night and yesterday afternoon; weather extremely cold.

15*th.*—My indisposition still continuing, I remained at Landeshut; passed the afternoon with Marechal Keith. He reckons that the Russian establishment for soldiers is one half cheaper than the Prussian. The Russians are cloathed once in 3 years, and a great coat once in four. It is computed that 150m Prussians will cost 9 millions of crowns per annum. That the Russ may get in Prussia about 2 millions crowns, that is, 3 millions of florins, which will be sufficient to defray the extraordinary expence of the war; he therefore doubts whether the Russ will willingly part with this country, which they have long had an eye on. He told me likewise that the French are better cloathed than any troops, that their cloaths cost 8 livres an ell, but they wear it four years.

At Landeshut, in the mountains of Silesia, there are several considerable merchants established for the linnen manufactory; some that trade with Spain directly. The town is of no force, as it is commanded by the heights in the neighbourhood, which we occupied with small redoutes.

16*th.*—Had news that Schweidnitz was surrendered.

17*th.*—Went to Grussau to wait upon the King. He detached this day 20 squadrons to Prince Henry, so his army will consist of 30 batalions and 40 squadrons; Count Dohna's, 24 batalions 27 squadrons.

18*th.*—Mr. Yorke told me he saw the King would go into Moravia, that he had reinforced Prince Henry to 40m, that the King self marches with 40 batalions and 73 squadrons. General Fouquet has 30 batalions

and 30 squadrons. Received notice at four in the afternoon that the army was to march next morning.

19*th.*—Army under Marshal Keith marched by Hartsmansdorff, Wisemansdorff, and Richenau to Freyberg, at the foot of mountains. A poor town. Mr. Yorke dispatched *Major* to England. As the column the King led went on to Swengfeld, the troops were so fatigued that a halt was ordered for next day. We had notice of this early in the morning of the 20th.

20*th.*—Having left my equipage at Breslaw, I resolved to profit of this day of halt, and go to Breslaw to bring it up, and join the army either at Frankenstein or Munsterberg.

I set out in the morning for Schweidnitz. It seems to have been a very fine town, but has been sadly ruined by the two sieges and bombardments; the far greater part of the houses are entirely destroyed, the walls only being left standing; most of the streets had been unpaved, to prevent the effects of the bombs. The Austrian garrison consisted of 7m 6 hundred men, at the time of the surrender about 4m prisoners. General Tierheim commanded; treated the inhabitants very harshly. General Treskow conducted the siege; the Prussians lost but a few men. I saw the different attacks the Prussians had made, and their lines, there was no breach made; the redoute No. 1 was taken by assault. The fortifications of this place are of a very extraordinary nature; consist of several detached, with small forts and *Flêches* between them, that have no communication with each other; these form an oval figure, which comprehends

within it not only the town, but the suburbs and gardens of the inhabitants about it. The situation is pleasant, in a fertile plain, within sight of the mountains, which are all covered with firr wood chiefly. There are fine meadows on the other side the Schweidnitz Wasser, a small river which runs by the town.

As I could not have post horses, I was obliged to go on with my own, and lay at Rosendal at Monsieur Kalkreuter's house, $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Breslaw. The situation of this place is pleasant, a flat country, within $\frac{1}{2}$ mile of the Zotenberg.

21*st.*—The road from Rosendal to Breslaw, through an open, flatt, rich country. About a mile from Rosendal begins what is called the *Swartz Mile.* I arrived about 9 o'clock at Breslaw, gave orders about my equipage, money, &c.

22*nd.*—Dined with Monsieur Slabrendorff; saw the Duke of Bevern and Abbé Bastiani.

23*rd.*—Left Breslaw at one o'clock, and arrived at Strelen, 5 miles, about 8 at night. Road tolerable, but must be impassable in wet season; country fertile, deep, a dead flatt.

24*th.*—Left Strelen about 12 o'clock, arrived about 4 in the afternoon at *Munsterberg.* The town not so good as *Strelen;* passed by the Abby of Closter Henrica; the road pleasant, some meadows and gentle hills the last two miles.

The King of Prussia had halted here, and in order the better to cover his intentions from the enemy he had gone to Glatz, but returned in the evening. Marshall was at Frankenstein, to whose care I had

recommended General Yorke during my absence. The General came on that night to *Munsterberg.*

25*th.*—Army marched at 4 in the morning to Neiss, 3 long miles, arrived about 12 ; the country very pleasant, affords fine views, hills covered with wood, meadows, corn fields.

The town of Neiss stands in a bottom, the fortifications, all except the rampart of the town, were made by the King of Prussia, and finished in 3 years, at a very considerable expence. The strength of the place consists in the command of water ; the river *Neiss,* and the small river *Bilau,* by the means of slouses can inundate the whole country. The Bilau can be turned into the Neiss by the means of a slouse. The works are hid.

The Fort Prussian is built on a rising ground to the west of the town which it commands, and between it and the town are built casserns, magazines, and some houses lodged in one of them. I was informed that a garrison of 16 batalions is necessary for the defence of this place. General Treskow, by the King's order, showed a plan of the town, and sent an engineer to show the works to General Yorke and me, he showed us likewise a large plan he had of Olmutz, where he said the waters may be drawn off.

In riding along with the King this morning, he said to me, *Mon ami vous irez avec moi faire la campagne, quand vous entrez une fois le retour sera difficile, ainsi vous resterez avec moi malgré les ordres de votre cour.* I answered that I was persuaded that so soon as my

Court knew that my stay would be agreeable to him, there would be no difficulty.

Blackmore, the messenger, arrived with the ratification of the Convention ; he brought letters of the 13th to General Yorke. I had only a private letter from Lord Holdernesse, which contained nothing material.

26*th.*—The army halted here this day. General Yorke communicated to the King the dispatch he received yesterday, and he shewed me his publick letters, a private letter from the Duke of Newcastle, and one from his father, and the answers he was proposing to make to them, in which he had not spared compliments on the manner of my receiving him, &c. As I easily saw the *But* of all this communicativeness, &c., I repaid in kind, by writing a letter to the Earl of Holdernesse, commending the General's behaviour, &c., which I shewed to him.

General Yorke told me that the King had said to him, at St. James's, that Mr. Pitt (whom he did not like) did not know mankind, much less how to deal with kings ; for, says he, if the Prussian ministers here had pressed to do something that I did not chuse to do, and I had refused, as the King of Prussia has done, what could that minister do, or would it be right or just to recall him.

27*th.*—This morning I determined a most important cause, sitting upon my throne.

Army marched to Neustadt, 3 miles ; country very pleasant, fine views of the hills. The town is pretty, a square in the middle.

28*th.*—Soon after leaving Neustadt, the rising hills begin. I observed, in going through the woods, a very beautifull firr tree, called the *Larischen Boom.* We passed through Maydeberg, Rosewald, and lay at Sauerwitz, 3 miles. Country open and fine.

The King said he was informed Marechal Daun was still quiet about Konigengratz; that in 3 marches from Troppau he should be before Olmutz, and he thought his scheme had succeeded; that having gained two days' march upon the enemy, he would send engineers before, to take positions of the ground; that the corps of Fouquet, which consisted of 30 battalions and 20 squadrons, could not only *harceler en dos,* but might attack and destroy their magazines; that General Zeithen was coming to join him, but had left some troops on that side.

29*th.*—Marched over a very fine, fertile plain, in sight of the mountains to Troppau; the *Oppa,* a small river, runs by the town of Troppau, which is as large as Neisse, has two great squares or market-places, and a rampart and ditch round the town.

The avenues through which we entered were barracaded with barrels filled with earth; the Austrians had abandoned the day before, but had repaired some of the bastions. Here there was plunder, contrary to order, for the King had ordered bread and beer for his soldiers, but forbid plunder.

The Duke of Würtemberg took this morning the Castle of Grats without resistance; he found some bread and flour.

30*th.*—Army halted. There are some good houses in Troppau. Wind north-east, and very cold.

Monday, 1*st May.*—Marched; as usual, the roads very slippery and wet; much snow had fallen in the night, and continued falling all day, which, with a thick fog, made the march very unpleasant. Passed through a bad defile, crossed the *Mora*, a small river which runs in the bottom, then marched a very steep hill. Head quarter was at Alt-Zechdorff, a very poor village about ½ mile from *Bautsch*, a small town in Moravia, which we avoided quartering in, as there had been in the winter an epidemical distemper in that town.

2*nd May.*—Marched, as usual; passed through *Bautsch*, the roads tolerable, woods on both sides, but none of the hills so high as that we passed yesterday. Passed through Dumstadtel, a small, poor town in the bottom, surrounded on every side with hills; lay at the village of *Gebau.*

3*rd.*—Marched to the right, and came down the mountains, which are finely planted with firr trees; the Ryser's Weg passes here; keeping to the right, we arrived at *Starnau*, one mile from Olmutz; this position covers the debouchement from Sternberg, where Marechal Keith's column is to pass; the army encamped.

4*th.*—Marched from Starnau at 8 o'clock, through Gnoitz, &c., to Littau. The road is difficult, by reason of ponds, marshes, and dykes, upon which you must pass. Crossed the Morava, near Littau; the bridge had been broke down, but was repaired; 500 hussars of Caroli had abandoned it upon the approach of

General Neuwidt, who took about 30 of their hussars. This town is small and poor, but surrounded with a ditch and rampart, and, as the avenues to it are difficult, they might easily have retarded our march some days.

5th.—The King from Littau, with a detachment to seize the magazine at Olschan, which proved much less considerable than had been reported; some few hussars of Caroli were taken prisoners. Having set out too late, met the King as he was returning.

6th.—Army halted and encamped in the afternoon, on the south-west side of the town.

7th.—The King went to *Prosnitz*, and returned in the evening.

8th.—Saw the camp. The King moved his quarter from Littau to Aschernitz, a village just without the town, and joining to the camp.

9th.—I remained in Littau; heard that Marechal Keith was to have the command of the siege of *Olmutz*.

The King has	. . . . .	23	batt^{s}.	28 squ^{rs}.
Forcade at Neustadt	. . . .	10	„	20 „
Marechal Keith	. . . . .	12	„	15 „
Duke of Wurtemberg	. . . .		„	50 „
Fouquet	. . . . .	20	„	5 „
Zeithen	. . . . .	10	„	15 „
Prince Henry	. . . . .	32	„	40 „
In garrison	. . . . .	10	„	„

800 waggons with Fouquet, 32$_{m}$ horses, and 14$_{m}$ for the artillery, of which last 5$_{m}$ belonging to the King, the rest furnished by the country. Every regiment has a waggon per company, and twelve bread waggons, which carry 6 days bread, besides a surgeon's waggon, in all 28 per regiment.

10*th.*—The King marched with the advanced guard of 16 batalions; Prince Moritz followed in the afternoon with 4 more, so the King has with him 20 batalions, and of grenadiers 70 squadrons, including the Duke of Wurtemberg's corps.

It is reported that the enemy begin to show themselves about *Wisehau.* As we had no notice of the King's march, General Yorke and I staid at Littau, but received a note in the evening to follow.

12*th.*—We set out the next day with an escorte of twenty hussars, and met just without the town of Littau 200 waggons, escorted by 100 infantry, we took our route too near the hills and were several times alarmed. About half way we met a small party of Margrave Charles' regiment with a broken cannon, who said they had been attacked, and the officer appeared a good deal disconcerted. A little way further on we were met by 60 hussars whom the King of Prussia had sent to escort us, and as we came nearer the camp, met with 2 batalions of infantry and more hussars, which we were afterwards told had been all detached on our account, as the King had been alarmed with the news that we had been intercepted. I met several of the officers near the head quarter at Smirschitz, who embraced me very kindly and told me the King was in great concern. When we arrived his Majesty received us very kindly and ordered dinner, and came and stood by us, whilst we were at dinner. We told him the reason of our coming so late was that upon receiving of the escorte of 60 hussars we had sent back the first

of 20, and had stopt till all the bread waggons had passed a little brook, and as we thought absolutely safe from being attacked; it was by 5 o'clock when we arrived. The King said he could soon clear the road between *Smirschitz* and Littau, but that in 3 or 4 days they would return, that he did not expect the enemy before the 16th, but hoped to give them Nazard before that time.

The camp forms a crescent upon the hills with the front towards *Prosnitz*, a hill covered with wood to the right, the village of Kosteletz in the plain to the right, morass and ponds in front. The hill declines to the left, stretching towards *Prosnitz*.

13*th*.—The King set out with 3 batalions, 20 squadrons and some artillery towards Wischau. His intention was to surprise some regiments of Austrian cavalry and dragoons, and 500 Ullans that were there; but the King's impatience made this expedition almost fruitless, for he advanced so fast that neither his foot nor artillery were come up, so the Austrians had time to saddle their horses and retire in good order. The Prince of Wurtemberg took possession of *Wischau*. I went in the afternoon to see Prosnitz; a pretty town, a fine market place, the rampart good for nothing; most of the inhabitants had left the town.

14*th*.—Heard General Seidlitz was gone to take the magazine at *Lodonitz*, but I was afterwards informed he went towards *Crimsir*.

15*th*.—The Duke of Wurtemberg returned from *Wischau*.

16*th*.—I went to see the camp in the afternoon.

17*th.*—General Seidlitz returned, he got forage for four days; had news this day that the town of Glogau was burnt.

18*th.*—Nothing.

19*th.*—The King went towards Olmutz. Weather very hott; rain much wanted.

20*th.*—The investure of Olmutz was ordered yesterday, and the rest of the troops will arrive as this day. A village was burnt near Olmutz this morning, said to have been occasioned by two Prussian hussars having been murdered there.

21*st.*—No news.

22*nd.*—The King went out after 2 in the morning towards Konitz, and took 39 Croates, four hussars, and two officers prisoners. Marechal Daun said to be advancing towards Konitz.

23*rd.*—Firing heard at 3 in the morning from Olmutz; trenches to be opened the 26th.

24*th.*—I went with General Krokow to visit the posts, which are much extended towards the left of our camp. I had a fine view of the country.

25*th.*—The King went early to Namiest to occupy that post, which was of importance.

26*th*, 27*th.*—No news. Rain and thunder.

28*th.*—Heard that the trenches before Olmutz were to be opened as this day, and the first battery to be placed before Chappel.

29*th.*—No news.

30*th.*—Reported that Marshal Daun was at *Grewitz.*

31*st.*—Batteries began to play before Olmutz at 3 this morning.

Thursday, 1*st June*.—It was reported that Daun was come to *Tribau*.

2*nd*.—King changed his quarter to *Klein-Latein*.

3*rd*.—Dined with the King at Klein Latein, a poor village, but pleasantly situated at the foot of the hills, which are all covered with wood. This village, as well as that of Gross Latein, where there are baths and mineral waters, belongs to Prince Lichenstein, who has a very large estate in this country.

4*th*.—Went to Marechal Keith's camp; saw the trenches; the second parallel was then finished, but the guns not placed in the batteries.

5*th* and 6*th*.—No news.

7*th*.—A sortie had been attempted in the night at Olmutz, but did not succeed; went in the afternoon to Namiest; General Wedel commands there: he has under him 3 battaillons and Putkamer's regiment, hussars: his position is strong: he has made an abbatis de bois against the pandours and two forts, and a fleche to scour the plain below. The regiment of Merinck hussars extend from hence towards Littau along the skirts of the wood.

8*th*.—Myrink's regiment attacked in the night by the pandours.

9*th*.—Foot was drawn out in order of battle; King went afterwards to Olmutz; returned before dinner; seemed pleased with what he had seen there; expects by the 17th to be upon the glacis of Olmutz, and master of the place by the 22nd.

N.B.—The convoy, consisting of 1000 waggons,

arrived at Gibau without any accident; there were with it 7m. men, recruits, and re-convalescents, with some hundreds dragoons and hussars.

10*th.*—General Yorke set out from Gross Latein in the evening; in appearance much pleased with the letter he received, Monsieur Eichel, &c.

11*th.*—Whilst I was at dinner with the King at the head quarter, the village of Gross Latein took fire, and as the battaillon was withdrawn I shifted my quarter to *Trepschin;* went in the afternoon with General Krowkow to General Wedel's camp at Namiest.

12*th.*—Much firing at Olmutz; General Zeithen's regiment was attacked in the night by 12 or 14 hundred men, whom they drove back with little loss on either side.

13*th.*—Went to Marechal Keith's camp; a sortie of about 1200 men had been made the night before by the garrison of Olmutz. They nailed up some cannon, but lost upwards of 100 men killed and made prisoners.

Bataillons now under Marechal Keith's command to form the siege of Olmutz, are—

2 Bornstadt.
2 Ferdinand.
2 Henry.
2 Fouquet.
2 Brunswick.
2 Weid.
2 Pannowitz.
2 Mar. Henry.
1 Latorff.

17 Somma.

Making in all 6141 men, besides 5 squadrons of Wurtemberg dragoons, and 2 Seidlitz hussars.

The garrison of Olmutz is 9m. strong at least. It is, therefore, to be feared the town will not be soon taken, as they repair in the night the damage done in the day-time.

The town of Olmutz is not invested on one side, and no inondation has been made, and the Prussians have only the regiment Bareuth dragoons, some hussars, and one free bataillon on that side, which are not sufficient to cut off the communication. The King is resolved to bring 8 bataillons from Silesia on that side of the river: he expects them by the 17th; but it is feared they will not come so soon.

It is reckoned there are in Olmutz—

10	Austrian Regulars.
2	Bavarian.
3	Semchin.
2	Warresders under General Drakowitz.
1	Preysink.
18	

14*th.*—General Fouquet had a contusion by a cannon ball.

15*th.*—King went to Olmutz; weather excessive hot.

16*th.*—No news.

17*th.*—King went to reconnoitre; I met him behind Klein Latein: he told me the enemy had altered their position, and that he had seen a camp between Wedel's and that of Prince Moritz at Littau; that he imagined the enemy wanted to penetrate and throw in succours into Olmutz; and as the bataillons from Silesia were not arrived, he ordered Margrave Charles to go from

Neustadt to reinforce on the other side of the river. Deserters came in and said that Daun was marched toward *Wischau;* King seemed pleased with this news. This morning, at 4 o'clock, the regiment Bareuth was surprised by a body of Saxon and Austrian cavalry; they suffered considerably; Marechal Keith crossed the river and beat them back.

18*th.*—It being confirmed by the report of deserters that the enemy did not intend to penetrate by Littau and Namiest, but were marching towards *Preidlitz* and *Wischau,* the King has ordered Prince Moritz, with his corps, to approach Marechal Keith; and his Majesty has returned to his old quarter at Smirchitz, where I also occupy my old quarter in the mill. The King reconnoitred towards Preidlitz, and all was alert in the night.

19*th.*—Last night the pandours advanced as far as the abbatis de bois, but did not attack General Wedel. All was quiet elsewhere.

20*th.*—This morning, at 3 o'clock, the King went to forrage towards Wischau, a mile beyond towards *Sternberg,* to assure the convoy.

27*th.*—Convoy expected this night or to-morrow; some motions of the enemy towards Kostelitz occasioned an allert, and the march of one batallion to Prostnitz, but nothing happened.

28*th.*—I saw the exercise of the cavalry before General Seidlitz; this is the second time they have been exercised in this camp. Also an exercise of 8 bataillons infantry, at which the King was present. Afterwards attended his Majesty as he went to recon-

noitre. It appeared the Austrians had advanced and taken possession of that hill, from which we had reconnoitred the Austrian army, at the grand forrage, on the 20th; here we perceived the village of Smirschitz on fire, and returned immediately; the King's quarter very narrowly escaped.

Though there was several intelligences that the enemy were moving, the King could not be persuaded that they intended to pass *Tobischau* to *Prerau*, but thought they would attempt to pass the *Krimsir*, which was easier: he, therefore, did not give sufficient attention to the intelligence that was brought him, owing, perhaps, in some sort, to the opinion he had that Daun would not be bold enough to risk the passage there in the face of his army; however, on this occasion, Daun behaved with great art, as he made feints as if he intended to attack between *Littau* and *Namiest* at *Kostelitz*, *Prostnitz*, &c., whilst he was preparing his bridges over the River Morava with great secrecy.

The King reconnoitred this evening with General Seidlitz, who took possession of *Stralitz*, which formed the extremity of the left of our camp.

29*th*.—Upon notice that the Austrians were pointing towards Prostnitz, the King went in person, and drove them off; took about 80 soldiers and some officers prisoners; it was said that Marechal Daun, Prince Louis of Wurtemberg, and Prince Lovenstein were present at this attack upon Prostnitz. The King said they behaved like coujons,[5] he believed their intention

[5] *Sic*;—probably *cochons*.

was to draw him on to an action, but they should not; or, perhaps, to prevent his detaching to cover Prostnitz. He had with him 11 batalions, infantry, 1200 horse and dragoons, besides hussars, 20 pieces 12lb., besides the batalion pieces. The number of forragers were about 16m.

We advanced and took possession of a height opposite to *Preidlitz*, distant ½ mile from the Austrian camp, which seems to be in two lines upwards of ½ mile long. They remained quiet, the hussars on both sides skirmished, a few cannon shots from the height we occupied put an end to this. The forrage lasted about 3 hours; we marched hither in two columns, one led by the King, the other by General Zeithen; the chain being formed and the villages occupied, the forragers came within the chain. Forraged quietly, even the most advanced were very little incommoded by the enemy's hussars. The manner of retiring is admirable; the regularity and order with which the retreat is performed gives security.

21*st.*—Having hurt my foot at the forrage the day before I did not stir out. I hear Prince Moritz corps has joined the King and encamps on the left. This looks as if an action was expected.

22*nd.*—A reinforcement sent to the regiment Bareuth on the other side of the river, which is said to have lost 300 men.

23*rd.*—Said the Austrians have thrown in 1200 men into Olmutz, that General Zeithen is marched towards Prerau.

24*th.*—No news.

25*th.*—The King sate upwards of five hours at table, talked much, chiefly in German, against the French, his own cavalry, infantry, the Austrians and their Generals, &c. &c. He mentioned Monsieur Bernsdorff's scheme to aggrandize Hanover, viz., like usurers, to lend money on mortgages, and so to get and keep possession. 2. To be always subservient to the House of Austria as the great power in Germany. 3. To make hidden acquisitions which will not give jealousy, but, in time, will give strength, &c. &c., and this scheme, he says, they have strictly followed.

26*th.*—It is said General Zeithen is gone convoy, but that was too late as his detachments were already made, and he believed General Zeithen strong enough, (Zeithen had 2 regiments horse, 900 hussars, and 3 batallions). The troops along with the transport are reckoned from 8 to 10m recruits reconvalescents, &c.

General Seidlitz told me that the enemy were advanced to Kleinowitz, Evan, Tobischau, and Dul, and the King thinks if they make another movement there may be battle to-morrow, but it is now plain that no such thing was intended, and that these movements were made only to cover the passage of the river.

30*th.*—It rained very much this morning, which prevented the manœuvre of 8 batallions infantry.

Last night about midnight an officer arrived with news that Lieutenant-Colonel Mosel had with 8 batallions attacked the party that came to intercept the convoy near Bautsch, that he had defeated them, taken 200

prisoners and 2 pieces of cannon; that General Zeithen arrived about 4 in the afternoon on the 28th, just before the officer set out. The action began on the 28th at 4 in the morning and lasted till 10.

July 1*st.*—News that the convoy had been attacked again near *Dumstadtel*, and was cut; that General Zeithen was returned to *Bautsch*. The King gave orders in the evening for the baggage to march at 3, and the army at 4 in the morning.

Having given an exact journal[6] in my letters to Lord Holdernesse of the march of the army I shall only mention such things as I either omitted in these letters or only slightly touched.

The country rises all the way from Prostnitz, but becomes less fertile. Woods, chiefly fir, some oak and beach.

July 2*nd.*—In this first day's march the King was pleased to explain to me his intention of surprising the magazines at *Leutomischel* and *Konigengratz*, which he hoped would disconcert the projects of his enemies; that he could not pass the other way into Silesia without risking his whole artillery and baggage, and perhaps be forced to a general battle; that at least it would have been impossible to pass by the *Heiglegeberg*, of which the Austrians were in possession, without having a very serious affair of the rear-guard. That these considerations had induced him to attempt to march through Bohemia.

As to the loss of his convoy, which was escorted by

[6] See last chapter of Vol. I. for some of these letters.

about 10m men, he said that he could not detach a greater number without exposing either Marshal Keith or himself to be attacked by a very superior number of the enemy; that it was almost a proverb, *a convoy attacked was a convoy lost;*—that he was sensible this made a great alteration in his affairs, for if he had taken Olmutz, the Austrians would have been disposed to peace; that by the movements their army had made, he believed they wanted to engage him to attack them, which if he had done with one wing as usual, the small parties of light troops with which the country swarms, would have been upon his back during the action; that his army did not exceed 40m men; that he reckoned the enemy at 60m, besides 20m light troops.

He then told me in confidence, that the Hanover ministers had been pressing him to enter into a Convention with them to guarantee the bishopricks of *Osnabruk*, *Hilldisheim*, *Paderbourn*, and country of *Eickfield* to them, to which he intended to give by way of answer, that as he had no treaty with Hanover, it was fit that measure should be concerted with the English ministry, and he asked me what I thought of that answer: I replied, it was impossible to imagine a better.

3*rd.*—Marched from *Briescko* by Cornitz, (here the page Gollolenski deserted with the King's telescope,) thence by *Giewitz*, *Tiernau* to *Tribau.* The country here about grows better and more fertile. Prince Lichenstein has large estates.

The King mentioned again the prospect of peace was

destroyed by his missing of Olmutz; that he had too many enemies; talked of his brother, the Prince of Prussia, &c., &c.

4*th.*—Halted at Tribau, a pretty town, and large square hills all round it. Prince of Lichenstein has a palace here. The King lamented that the prospect of peace was vanished, but seemed in good spirits that his new project on the Austrian magazines was like to succeed.

Marechal Keith arrived here in the evening dangerously ill.

5*th.*—By *Krenau* to Zwittau, a town belonging to the Elector of Treves: it consists of one street, with a Fauxbourg, the houses built upon colonades in the Bohemian way: in this town there is some manufacture of cloath. The villages are like those in the Silesian mountains.

In this march the King left 3 batallions, with dragoons and hussars, under the command of General Forcade, to occupy the heights that command a bad pass. The King exposed himself on this occasion too much, as there were parties of the enemy near.

6*th.*—To *Leutomischl;* country more open; plain well cultivated; saw no enemy here. We found Prince Moritz encamped upon a rising ground behind the castle.

Margrave Charles was left this morning at *Zwittau* with 7 battalions and 20 squadrons to aid Marechal Keith in his retreat. *Leutomischl* belongs to Count Wallenstein, who has a fine castle here, which belonged formerly to Count Trautmansdorff.

7*th.*—Halted at Leutomischl. Margrave Charles and General Fouquet came up.

8*th.*—Halted at *Leutomischl.* The King and the Margrave came in to my appartment before dinner, where they spent half an hour.

In the afternoon I saw Monsieur Eichel, and had a very long conversation with him. He told me that the propositions made by the Hanover ministers were that the bischoppricks of *Osnabruck*, *Hilldisheim*, *Paderbourn*, country of *Eckfeld*, fortress of *Vecht*, and part of the bischopprick of *Munster* should be guaranteed by the King of Prussia to Hanover; that the proposal was made in a very extraordinary manner, and contained something menacing in it, viz., that in consideration of this they would desist from their pretensions upon East Frieseland, but that the King of Prussia should offer these bischoppricks, &c., and be contented with a bare act of occupation on their part: he added, that the Hanover ministry desired great secrecy, and wished it might be particularly concealed from the English minister: he said, he was sorry he had burnt the papers for fear of accidents, otherwise he would have shewed me them. I asked Monsieur Eichel whether this had been proposed before or after Prince Ferdinand had passed the Rhine: he answered, before he passed. As Monsieur Eichel was very open with me, I told him I heartily approved of the answer the King intended to give, and that his Majesty thought it would be better that I should not mention this in my correspondence to England, for fear of occasioning uneasiness at home.

Monsieur Eichel then put me in mind of what he had before told me at Berlin, viz., to call for certain papers, (which he says the Prussian ministers will readily shew me,) by which it will appear that all the differences between Hanover and Prussia, by the yieldings and cessions the King of Prussia offered on his part several years ago, might have been done away; but this negociation was traversed by the Hanover ministry, and no answer ever given to the proposal.

9*th*.—From this to the 25*th*, see my letters to Lord Holdernesse, of the 14*th*, 15*th*, and 25*th*, all from *Konigsgratz*.

25*th*.—The King said to me, Your court have proposed farther engagements, viz., to make with Austria, and to engage to carry on the war against France; he seemed a little out of humour, and said he thought there was no occasion for such engagements at this time; he appeared to be embarrassed about the news he had received about the Russ, which, however, he did not communicate.

From the 25*th* to the 31*st*, see my letters from Jessenitz.

1*st August* to the 8*th*; see my letter from Wernersdorff, in Bohemia.

2*nd of August*.—In a conversation I had with Monsieur Eichel, he had told me that the King had not yet answered Monsieur de Knyphausen's letter, which contained the substance of a conversation he had had with Mr. Pitt, in which it was thrown out, that if the King pleased, England would enter into engagements

with him for new acquisitions; that Mr. Pitt appeared now to be quite hearty, &c. Eichel added, it was his opinion that Austria would be the last to treat, as she had ever been; but if others agreed, she must.

Prince Henry has	30 batt^{s}.	
Free batt^{s}.	3 „	
	33 „	25 squ^{rs}.
The King has	72 „	123 „
Dohna has	30 „	55 „

Strength of a Squa. Hussars is	120
Of Dragoons	184
Cuirassiers	160

9th.—Marched from Wernersdorff, by Frieland, to Grussau. I lay at Landeshutt.

10th.—The King came to Landeshut in the evening.

11th.—Marched next morning in 2 columns, one led by the King, and the other by Prince Moritz. Our whole force consisted of 14 battalions and 35 squadrons, led by General Seidlitz and Major-General Czetteritz, who had advanced before, which, joined with General Dohna's army, the King thought sufficient against the whole force of the Russians, that were thought to be at that time about Meseritz.

We passed the mountain from Landeshut by Boomgarden, which is easier than that by Richenau and Strigau, which is at the gorge of the mountains; here the King was pleased to describe to me the ground where the battle of Strigau, or Hoen-Friedburg, was fought. The King suffered the Austrians to come into the plain by *Cauder*. We passed through the camp

they occupied. The King said they were 80m strong, and he about 60m: at this battle he made 5 generals, 170 officers, and 7m men prisoners.

We lay that night at Roenstock, a house of Count Hoberg.

12*th.*—Marched by Jaur to Lignitz. Jauer is a pretty, small town,—no strength. Lignitz, a very good town, contains about 6m inhabitants, and an academy, with a foundation for the education of 20 young gentlemen; they have likewise a woollen-cloth manufacture; country not fertile; inhabitants mostly Lutherans.

13*th.*—To Huntzendorff, 4 miles, through woods, sandy roads, flatt country.

The King told me he had 80 or 90 cannon; that he had taken care to conceal his march, and to prevent his intelligence from getting across the Oder; that we were to halt to-morrow and then march 3 days more, which would be 22 miles in seven days; that the Russians were at Meseritz, and Dohna, near Crossen; that a report was then to be spread of his march, in order to draw the Russians from their post, in order to prevent his junction with Dohna; that if this stratagem succeeded, it would change the face of affairs, and he might perhaps attempt to destroy the Russian magazines at *Posnam.* We then talked who should be sent to England with the news of the victory, &c.

Happening in discourse to mention to the King, that the day before, near *Lignitz*, I had seen the ground where the Duke of Bevern had been * *[7] by the

[7] Not legible.

Austrians the last year, the King said, Bevern had behaved ill,—*que la tete lui avoit tournée;* that he done him infinite prejudice to throw himself into the hands of the enemy; that if despair had seized him, there was another way of ending it; that, unhappily, the person next in command, *Kian*, was less capable than Bevern. When I seemed to doubt that the Duke's intention was not to be taken, but only to reconnoitre, the King replied, I know it from the Austrians themselves, and that Bevern had sent a servant before to know if there were pandours in that post, and then went and surrendered himself; but, says he, I have not talked of this matter to anybody.

14*th.*—Halted at Heintzendorff; were six hours at table, most disagreeable.

15*th.*—Marched to *Dalkau*, 2 miles from *Glogau;* country still sandy, but grows pleasanter and more fertile as you approach the *Oder;* lodged at Mr. Josch' house, where the King likewise lodged; here I met with General Beck.

16*th.*—To Martemburg, a very poor town by Berthen, and *Neusaltz*, which last is a pleasant village built by the Hernheuters; the country upon the banks of the Oder very pleasant, fine oak woods, some vines, hopps, a great deal of oats.

Here the King had notice that the Russ were advanced to Custrin, which made him alter his resolution of passing the Oder at *Tschechesig* and thence to *Zullichau*, which was the shortest cutt, if the Russ had remained at Meseritz: the Oder was at this time very low, but, to

judge by the banks, must swell prodigiously in the rainy season. I had some conversation here with Count Kosel, who came to wait on the King, as his estate is in this neighbourhood.

17*th.*—Marched by Niteritz Grüneberg to Johnsberg, a very poor village: there are many vineyards about *Grüneberg*, planted on little risings, which produce very bad wine. Garstin, the messenger, arrived with Mr. Emin, the Persian; they confirmed the news of the bombardment of Custrin, and that Dohna was marched through Frankfurt.

18*th.*—To Crossen, a very pretty, neat town, handsome square; a wooden bridge over the Oder; the road pleasant, through meadows and oak woods along the banks of the Oder. The King lay in the suburbs on the other side the bridge, and the cavalry crossed the bridge, encamped on the hill above the town. Dispatched Cleverly to England in the evening, with answers to the letters brought by Garstin.

19*th.*—To *Zeibegen*, half-way to Frankfurt; deep sand, firr woods; soldiers appeared extremely fatigued, this being the fifth day of their marching without a halt.

20*th.*—Marched through woods, then upon a dyke against the overflowings of the Oder to Frankfurt. Crossed the bridge; cavalry encamped on the hill, and the King lodged in the suburbs above the town in which the infantry were quartered.

21*st.*—Halted at Frankfurt. The King went on this morning with the hussars to join General Dohna's army.

Frankfurt is a very pretty town ; has an university ; seems pretty well peopled.

The army marched at 9 at night, and arrived the

22*nd*, at 7 in the morning, at *Gorgas*, poor village; marched again before 10 at night, through woods in a plain, sandy country, and arrived

23*rd*, at 5 in the morning, opposite to Gustobise : there are high grounds on the other side, which, however, the enemy had not occupied. The manner of passing was this : battalions grenadiers passed in small boats, the pontons not being come up, to occupy the high grounds on the right side the river ; the pontons coming up very soon after the bridge was finished, about 11 o'clock : then the artillery and some cavalry began to pass, and I was told that the whole cavalry did not get over till 2 next morning. The King's quarter was Glossau. I was at Zellin to the right of our camp $\frac{1}{2}$ mile. Having been almost 20 hours a horseback, I was extremely fatigued.

24*th*. — Marched at 1 in the afternoon ; troops extremely fatigued. I was in the village of Dermitzel, to the right of our camp ; the King's quarter was at Dermitzel Mühl, to the left, full half a mile distant : it was dark before the troops arrived in camp ; they were encamped *en bandiere*, in two lines, with the small river Mitzel between them and the Russians, whose fires and advanced guards seemed to be within cannon-shot.

I went with Prince Francis of Brunswick and General Dohna to the King's quarter (and returned

about midnight), where the general officers assembled. The King seemed to be in great spirits, and, after giving his orders to his officers, seemed surprised to find me there. I told him I had a favour to ask of his Majesty, that he would permit me to attend him if there was an action the next day; he answered, "By no means, you must not; you may be killed, *et cela fera plaisir à Mr. Pitt:* besides, who shall write an account of the victory if you are killed?" I answered, "*La victoire parlera d'elle-même; il y a bien de graves gens en Angleterre qui seront charmés d'être aupres de V. M.;*" to which he replied, "*J'enverrois donc deux chasseurs pour vous tenir dans le poste que je leur ordonnerai.*" His Majesty seemed in high spirits, and quite sure of success.

25*th.*—At half an hour past 3 the morning, the army began to file off to the left, and passed on a single wooden bridge the river Mitzel; then marching through a wood, they arrived between 8 and 9 in a plain, where the army immediately formed in order of battle, which was as follows:—first, the van-guard, consisting of 8 or 10 battalions under the command of Lieutenant-General Manteuffel, Major-Generals Kalden and Kürsel, but led by the King and Prince Moritz: the rest of the infantry formed 2 lines, and the whole cavalry a 3rd: they marched in this manner in 4 columns to the field of battle; and I reckon the real strength of this army to be about 32m men, of which 89 squadrons, making about 10m. The whole cavalry, forming one line in the rear, to act as there should be

occasion, was commanded by General Seidlitz, though his post was to the right.

The attack began at 9 o'clock before the village of *Zorndorff*, which the Russians had set on fire; to the right of which there was a wood, which I believe had not been thoroughly examined. The King's intention was to attack with the left the right of the enemy in flank, and to refuse the right; but I have since heard that we missed of the flank, as the attack began the moment the troops were ranged: no care had been taken to reconnoitre the position of the enemy: the van-guard began the attack, and were to be supported by the infantry on the left of the first line; but I was told that Lieutenant-General Kanitz did not follow the orders he had received from the King, which were to support and follow the van-guard, but attacked more obliquely, and by this means exposed his flank to the enemy. The Prussians continued to gain ground for some time, and several battalions were called from the second line to reinforce the first; but the infantry to the left giving way, all was like to fall into confusion, till General Seidlitz attacked on the right with the gardes du corps, the gens d'armes, and the regiment of Cetteritz dragoons, beat the Russian cavalry, and broke in amongst their foot; to this was owing the gain of the battle, for almost the whole infantry on the left went off with some generals at their head, and there it was the Russians took 20 pieces of cannon, and 2 or 3 standards.

At the beginning of the action the Russians were entirely shut up, having the river Mitzel in the rear,

and the position the King had chose entirely cut off their retreat from Landsberg. This deplorable situation of the Russians, joined to the knowledge they had, that no quarter was to be given, rendered them desperate, and they fought like devils ; and upon the Prussian infantry on the left giving way, they fought their way out by their right, and surrounded the Prussian army in their turn, so that the field of battle became very extensive : the fire of the artillery was terrible, and continued almost the whole time without interruption to the end of the action. The slaughter upon the field of battle was computed at 15m Russians only : I have since heard it was upwards of 20m.

For several hours before the action ended, everything was in the greatest confusion ; the great artillery went off the field for want of ammunition, and all the infantry, except 9 battalions, had fled, some to *Custrin*, some to *Tamsel* and *Dam*.

In this situation we remained all night, rather on the edge than in the field of battle, whilst the Russians were almost within cannon-shot on the other side, so that it appeared to me that the field of battle, during this night of the 25th, was occupied by the dead and the artillery of both sides only.

It was happy for us the Russians were ignorant of our situation, that our infantry was gone, and we wanted ammunition : if they had attacked, either in the night or early next morning, they would have had a very easy conquest.

I do not certainly know the numbers of the Russian

army, which were computed to be from 60 to 70m, included their light troops. The King told me they were drawn up in a double square, by which their cavalry was entirely covered by the infantry. They had a prodigious quantity of artillery, though it began to fire much later than the Prussian, the reason of which I do not know.

During the action, Cossacks and Calmucks set fire to all the villages round, which, with the blowing-up of some powder-waggons in the edge of the wood, added to the horror of the spectacle; and during the night of the 25th, the country was all in flames round us.

26*th*.—Very early in the morning a small party of Cossacks rushed out of the wood on our right, alarmed the King's quarters: if they had ventured to attack, they would have thrown everything into confusion.

I rode over the field of battle along with his Majesty, of which I will make no description, as I heartily wish to forget it.

The King drew up his cavalry upon a rising ground to the left, in such a position as to take the enemy in flank, in case they advanced to attack us or retired towards *Landsberg*. Whether this manœuvre alarmed the Russians, who were in very good order and very compact, together with their front advanced, and their wings retired, placed upon a rising ground opposite to us, his Majesty advanced before his cavalry, and dismounted to reconnoitre. The Russians instantly drew out two cannon from their right, and saluted him with a volée of cartridge-shot, which they repeated

again instantly. I thought the King had been killed, but we all got off safe, though this firing put our cavalry for a few minutes into some confusion. Immediately after, the cannonading began on both sides very briskly, and lasted for upwards of 3 hours.

About 8 o'clock, our fugitive infantry were brought back and drawn up in order of battle to our right, the cavalry keeping their former position, and remained so all day. I hear we lost a hundred men by the cannonading, which, however, by the rest of the day was only by intervals.

In the afternoon General Fermer sent a trumpet to demand a suspension of arms for three days to bury the dead, which was refused, &c. The Russians formed a hollow square and remained immoveable, so that I thought we should certainly have another action the next day. About midnight a furious cannonading began, which lasted about half an hour, and was renewed again about two hours after, but did not last.

This day I saw the Russian prisoners, with the King's permission. I had some conversation with General Chernichef and Colonel Foullarton.

27*th.*—The Russian army having begun to move towards *Klein Canin*, we decamped, and marched towards *Tamsel.* Our rear followed them, but they marched in so good order, that they could not be attacked, and have occupied a strong camp near *Klein Canin.* The chateau of Tamsel belongs to Madame *de Vrede*, and has been plundered, first by the Russians, and then by our hussars. The Russians murdered the

intendant, as they have done many people in the neighbouring villages. Here the King had his quarter, and the army encamped on the high grounds. Prince Moritz commanded our advanced guard to watch the enemy, and I was informed that two regiments of dragoons cuirassiers were left to guard the field of battle.

CHAPTER XII.

DISPATCHES AND CORRESPONDENCE—CAMPAIGN, 1759—OPERATIONS OF PRINCE HENRY'S ARMY, WHICH MITCHELL ACCOMPANIED—CURIOUS ANECDOTE OF THE BATTLE OF ZORNDORFF IN AUGUST LAST.

THE storm still thickened around the apparently devoted head of the great King, and such was the darkness of the surrounding prospect, that even his iron heart appears to have begun to be affected by it. In one of his dispatches, towards the end of this year, here printed (6th December, 1759), Mitchell writes to Lord Holdernesse: "I see the King of Prussia every day and for hours together, but it is with the deepest concern I inform your Lordship, that, during all our former misfortunes, I have never seen him so much affected and depressed."

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Breslaw, Wednesday, 24th Jan., 1759.

MY LORD,

I have had nothing from England since the 2nd instant, and having dispatched Ardran, the messenger, last Monday, I have now very little to add.

Yesterday his Prussian Majesty acquainted me with the death of her Royal Highness the Princess of

Orange. He appeared to be very much affected with the news, and said he had lost in her one of his best friends, for whom he had the highest value and esteem. On this occasion it may not be improper to acquaint your Lordship that his Prussian Majesty had a particular admiration for her Royal Highness, and he used to take every opportunity to repeat her sayings, and to commend her wisdom, spirit, and conduct.

This being the birthday of the King of Prussia, who enters into the 48th year of his age, I am going to pay my court to him, but am very uncertain whether he will shew himself, as he does not love ceremonies of this kind.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

P.S.—This instant, news is arrived that Damin has surrendered. The garrison, which consisted of upwards of 900 men, are made prisoners of war. A. M.

The following letter, written in 1759 to Mitchell, is stated, in the MS. list of the letters, to be from Sir Philip Francis, the reputed author of the "Letters of Junius:" but, as Sir Philip Francis was only born in 1740, this letter could scarcely be from him; it was, probably, from his father, Philip Francis, D.D. It does not appear that the Philip Francis, *quisquis fuit*, who wrote this letter, ever completed the General History of the Seven Years' War, for which, he says in this letter, he was then collecting materials. It is not easy to see how he could reconcile what he says was his

ruling passion (just as Junius is fond of telling us it was his), "a detestation of tyranny and oppression, a love of liberty, and a reverence for the constitution of the British government," with making the King of Prussia his hero.

Sir,

The favour I am going to ask is, I confess, of a very delicate nature. Your refusal to grant it will convince me it was improper, but I trust your good nature will not think it impertinent. Without further apology, give me leave, sir, to tell you, I have been some time employed in collecting materials for a General History of the present war, to be published whenever the ambition of France and Vienna shall be compelled to give peace to Europe. I have already got some very valuable plans, draughts, and journals, from General Braddock's ill-fated expedition, to the more fortunate siege of Louisbourg, and our last success at Goree; but where the events of war have been most important in themselves, most interesting to the present world, and most instructive to posterity, there, sir, I am almost totally ignorant. How shall I follow the King of Prussia in sieges, battles, victories—in his retreats, more glorious than his victories? I fear, sir, you will hardly be able to know this great monarch in the lifeless, imperfect accounts of newspapers and gazettes.

May not somewhat, then, within the bounds of prudence and the honour due to your station, be

hazarded to preserve his fame from the unwilling misrepresentations of error and ignorance? I really believe his Majesty had other nobler motives than even those of glory for entering into the present war; I mean, those of his affection for his people, and his ardour to maintain the liberties of Europe. But what great spirit, sir, is insensible to fame? and surely, if there be that people upon earth whose applause is worthy of his Majesty's regard, it is the people of Great Britain. Their good sense makes the truly great man the certain object of their esteem, and assuredly they have naturally a great deal of the enthusiasm with which heroes are said to be inspired.

After these, I know not whether I may call them reasons for your complying, in whatever degree you think proper, with a request which you must now fully understand, I shall not, sir, attempt to influence you to grant it by any insinuation with regard to your own interests; those, I mean, of your future reputation. Yet, surely, sir, to have been honour'd with the confidence of a monarch, who is his own minister in the Cabinet as he is his own general in the field, will be for ever worth preserving to your friends and your country. Even I, while I record things worthy of immortality, shall, perhaps, neither die unknown, nor forgotten by posterity.

But, sir, whatever shall be my fate, I hope to preserve so much of the historian's integrity, as never to know any other partiality than that which arises from a detestation of tyranny and oppression, a love of liberty,

and a reverence for the constitution of the British government. If the conduct of our ministers, and consequently their characters, must necessarily enter into the work I propose, I think it not unhappy that I have never received either favours or obligations that might influence a good heart to be too grateful,—neither injuries nor insults, that might provoke a revengeful spirit to calumny and falsehood. I dare profess a general esteem for every man of merit or virtue, and then, sir, you will not doubt of that very sincere regard with which I have ever been your obliged and

Most obedient servant,

PHIL. FRANCIS.

London, Nassau Street, 20 *Feb.*, 1759. [1]

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Most secret, 4°.

Castle of Schweinhaus, near the Head Quarter at Bolckenhayn, Wednesday, 4th April, 1759.

MY LORD,

The King of Prussia told me that the army he commands is upon the footing of forty-eight thousand, of which there are still wanting twelve hundred recruits; that, deducting the sick, &c., he has now forty thousand men effective; that in three weeks, if his enemies will be quiet for that time, the army will be quite compleated, and nothing wanting of any sort; he has a hundred pieces of cannon, besides haubitz,[2] mortars, and the regimental pieces.

[1] No address on this letter.

[2] Haubitze, howitzers.

The corps under General Fouquet is from fifteen to twenty thousand, with artillery proportionable.

That under Prince Henry, in Saxony, thirty-seven thousand, with a suitable artillery.

His Prussian Majesty said, he heard that in the Council of Vienna, Marshal Neuperg had differed with Marshal Daun as to the plan of operations of this campaign, but he did not yet distinctly know the particulars.

It is the opinion of many officers that his Prussian Majesty will soon be obliged to march either into Lusatia or towards Dresden; in either case he will reinforce the corps under General Fouquet, but this must entirely depend upon the measures the enemy may take.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Landshut, Saturday, 21st April, 1759.

MY LORD,

Since my last, of the 15th, from this place, I have no letters from England.

April 16*th*, 17*th*, 18*th*, and 19*th*.—Nothing has happened. The weather has been extremely cold, accompanied with snow, which, melting partly in the day-time, makes the roads almost impracticable.

20*th*.—The weather softer, but great rains. This afternoon arrived a chasseur from Prince Henry of Prussia, with letters from the head quarter at *Lenai*, in

Bohemia, of the 17th inst., which give an account that the Prince had taken magazines at *Aussig*, *Töplitz*, *Lenai*, and *Lobositz*, and that his advanced guard, after occupying *Leitmeritz*, was marching towards *Budin*. The Austrians, having abandoned those posts, retired with great precipitation towards *Prague*.

Lieutenant-General Hulsen, who, at the same time Prince Henry marched from Dresden, led another corps into Bohemia, by *Marienberg* and *Bossberg*, had taken possession of *Commotau*, and entirely defeated the Austrian regiments of Antlau and Konigseck, having taken Major-General Renard, 51 officers, and 2500 men prisoners, together with 5 cannon, 3 colours, and 2 standards. There were about 500 killed in the action, but the loss on the side of General Hulsen is said to be very inconsiderable. His advanced guard is gone on to *Satz*.

His Prussian Majesty told me that his brother, Prince Henry, had wrote to him that the different magazines, already fallen into his hands in Bohemia, were sufficient to have subsisted a considerable army for three months, and it is believed that the loss of these magazines must effectually suspend, at least for some time, the execution of the Austrian project of invading Saxony.

21*st*.—This day, a chasseur arrived from General Fouquet, with accounts that he had taken *Jaegrendorff* and *Troppau*, in which last place he made the garrison prisoners of war, consisting of 220 men and 5 officers. The Austrians, having withdrawn their troops, retired into Moravia, but it is doubted whether he will be able

to follow them to *Hoff*, where there is a magazine, as it is said that the enemy have occupied the heights, which may render the march from *Troppau* very difficult.

I shall leave to your Lordship to determine whether the greatness of this project, the secrecy with which it has been conducted, or the address with which it has been executed, are most to be admired.

In order to amuse the enemy, the King of Prussia advances in person to *Landshut*, and brings up part of the second line to cover his real intention, whilst he is making strong detachments from the left, both of infantry and cavalry, to reinforce General Fouquet with as much secrecy and address that it was hardly known in this army. Almost at the same instant of time, Prince Henry marches from *Dresden*, and General Hulsen from the Voigtland, at the head of separate corps, to destroy the enemy's magazines in Bohemia; and this part of the project was so admirably concealed, that there is reason to believe not above one man in the army knew anything of it, nor was it so much as suspected till about three days ago.

The success has, hitherto, been proportioned to the merit of this great project, for the enemy have been deceived. Whilst they expected to have been attacked in the centre, the extremities of their army at *Troppau* and *Leitmeritz* (distant from each other upwards of 200 English miles) have been defeated, and their magazines ruined nearly in the same moment, his Prussian Majesty remaining all the while quiet in his quarters at *Land-*

shut; with such justness, ease, and ability does he guide this vast machine.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

P.S.—I have this moment received a copy of a letter from an officer in Prince Henry's army, which, as it contains a particular account of what has passed in Bohemia. I send it inclosed; also the capitulation of *Penamünde.* A. M.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

4°.

Landshut, Saturday, 21*st April,* 1759.

MY LORD,

I forgot in my last, of the 15th, to mention to your Lordship that his Prussian Majesty said to me one day, in a jocose manner, Would you believe I have been offering subsidies? I have proposed to the King of Denmark a subsidy for ten thousand men: his Ministers have met, consulted together, and rejected the offer, as I expected; but still it has done no harm,—on the contrary, I think it has put them in better humour.

Since we had the news of Prince Henry's success in Bohemia, his Prussian Majesty has told me that his intention was that those troops should march into *Franconia,* and there endeavour to attack and disperse the army of the empire that is forming, which, at the same time, cannot fail to facilitate Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick's operations against the French, in case he should be so lucky to drive them back to *Francfort,*

which has been reported here this day on the authority of a post-master, but the King of Prussia has yet no account.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Landshut, Sunday, 29th April, 1759.

MY LORD,

Since my last, of the 25th, from this place, I have no letters from England.

April 26th, 27th, and *28th.*—Nothing happened. The army in the higher Silesia have advanced towards *Neisse,* and General Fouquet has his head quarter behind *Neustadt.*

His Prussian Majesty was pleased to express to me in very strong terms his approbation of Prince Ferdinand's conduct on the 13th, at Bergen, though he has yet received no detail of the action. The Prince's letter is dated the 14th, from *Windeck,* in which he commends highly the bravery of the troops; they attacked, he says, rather with too much ardour: the loss sustained he reckons about a thousand men, but could not then be exact, and five pieces of cannon.

This morning, at three o'clock, the King of Prussia set out alone for *Neisse,* and will arrive there about mid-day. The troops, to reinforce Fouquet's corps, I am informed, will likewise be at *Neisse* this day, so that it is probable, to-morrow or next day, there may be an action. I have, therefore, delayed dispatching

Lambe, the messenger, till the event of this expedition is known.

His Prussian Majesty told me that he had wrote to his brother, Prince Henry, to march into Franconia, to endeavour to disperse the army of the empire; which, he thinks, he may venture to do, as there is nothing to be feared in Saxony from that side of Bohemia.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

P.S.—Inclosed is the printed relation of Prince Henry's expedition. A. M.

The following letter is deserving of particular attention, as containing very characteristic traits of Frederic, the Duke of Newcastle, and Mitchell; exhibiting a most remarkable instance of Frederic's extraordinary presence of mind in the most trying emergencies, and also exhibiting, in the manner in which Mitchell introduces the story in his letter to the Duke of Newcastle, the tact with which Mitchell adapted himself to the character of the strange man, who was perhaps as remarkable a production of nature (or art) for a Prime Minister, as Frederic was for a King.

Mr. Mitchell to the Duke of Newcastle.

Landshutt, 5th May, 1759.

IT is now seven months since I have been honoured with any letter from your Grace, though I have wrote often to you since that time; I will not complain, but

I cannot help saying that some of them deserved an answer.

Your Grace was anxious to know a certain secret, which you squeezed out of me, but to this moment I do not know how it was received; this, my Lord, is discouraging. As to my private affairs, I never mention them but with reluctance, and I will not now repeat what I have said in former letters; only it would be kind to let me know what I have to expect, for I can assure your Grace I have occasion for all the tranquility of mind I can procure.

My letters to the Earl of Holdernesse will inform your Grace of what is passing here. If his Prussian Majesty has temper to continue to act on the defensive, I hope all will go well, notwithstanding the infinite number of foes he has to struggle with.

His superiority of talent, the readiness and fertility of his invention, fill me with confidence. No sooner does one project fail than he is ready with another, no disappointment discourages him, nor no success elates him beyond measure.

The manner in which the King of Prussia thinks and speaks of your Grace on every occasion gives me the highest pleasure: if I was to be particular, I might be suspected of flattery, which I never have, and never will practise. Your Grace desires me to write you some anecdotes. I will give you one which I have never mentioned to anybody, for reasons I need not explain.

At the battle of Zorndorff in August last (which was

won and lost by both sides), about 1 o'clock in the afternoon, I met the King of Prussia towards the centre of the first line, where he was saluted with a *victorie* from Prince Moritz of Dessau at the head of some regiments: I thought this a sufficient authority for me to wish him joy of the victory, which I did. He received my compliments civilly, and, as I rode along with him, whispered me with great coolness, "Mon ami, les affaires vont bien mal à la gauche, je vais y mettre ordre mais ne me suivez point." He went accordingly, took the colours in his own hands to encourage the infantry, that were in the greatest disorder; but all to no purpose, they would do nothing; and at that moment, had the Russians known how to profit of their advantage, there would have been an end of us and of the whole affair.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.[3]

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Landshut, Monday, 14th May, 1759.

MY LORD,

Since my last, of the 9th, from this place, I have no letter from your Lordship.

May 10th.—At six in the morning the King of Prussia went in person to reconnoitre, attended by four bataillons and about fourteen hundred dragoons and hussars. On the sight of so formidable a detachment all the advanced guards of the Austrian cavalry and hussars retired, and the Croats that occupied some of

[3] MS. at Fintray House.

the high grounds took shelter in the woods. His Prussian Majesty marched by *Jousdorff*, *Weischau*, *Michelsdorff*, *Küntzendorff*, to *Swartswasser*, near *Schatzlar*, in Bohemia, and he returned about three in the afternoon by *Liebau*, having made a few hussars prisoners, and greatly alarmed the enemies' advanced posts on the frontier.

11*th* and 12*th*.—Rainy weather, and nothing happened.

13*th*.—In the afternoon four hundred Austrian hussars surprised an outpost near *Libau*, in which a lieutenant and seventeen men of one of the free bataillons were made prisoners without firing a shot.

As this place may become the seat of action, I shall endeavour to give your Lordship some idea of its situation. The town of *Landshut* is very small, surrounded with a bad wall and ditch; stands in a narrow bottom at the confluence of the *Zeider* with the *Bober*. The first is only a rivulet, which springs from the mountains near *Schomberg*. The *Bober* has its rise from the high mountain *Rehorn*, in Bohemia, distant about two miles from hence; and though it is here but a very small stream, it grows considerable as it flows, for it receives almost all the little brooks that arise in the mountains, and after passing by *Hirschberg*, *Leewenberg*, *Sagau*, &c., falls into the *Oder* at *Crossen*. To the east and north are meadows, which serve as bleaching-fields, but the hills rising so near command the town on all sides. When General Fouquet was here last autumn, he erected ten small forts on the tops of those hills.

Towards the south side of the town lyes the plain of *Grüssau,* and to the south-west the plain of *Liebau:* each of them may be two English miles broad and about five long. These two plains are separated by a ridge of mountains covered with thick wood, and the Prussian camp of five bataillons is placed upon the side and summit of a hill half-way to *Liebau.*

General Fouquet's forts are so placed as to scour the issues of both the plains, in case the enemy should attempt to enter by either, which I rather wish they may do, than that his Prussian Majesty should march into Bohemia, because the passes of the mountains there are more difficult, and much better fortified, than those in Silesia, as I had occasion to see it last year when the army retired from Bohemia.

Yesterday General Wopersnow left this place,—it is said, to command a detachment against the Russians, perhaps to destroy their magazine at *Posen,* which they have been endeavouring to re-establish. He set out alone, and what orders have been given are kept very secret, so I can say nothing farther of his destination.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Duke of Newcastle.

Landshutt, 20th May, 1759.

HAVING wrote to your Grace on the 5th by Lambe, I have now very little to add. My letters to the Earl of Holdernesse of this date will acquaint your

Grace with what passed in the conversation I had yesterday with the King of Prussia, and with the reason of my despatching this messenger. That Prince never talked to me in so strong terms of the necessity there was for peace, and added, with great candour, "It was a miracle things had gone so well hitherto." "I have," said he, "deceived my enemies this year by acting, where they did not expect I should, and by being on the defensive, where they thought I intended to have made my push. This stratagem will do for once, but must not be repeated; for my enemies will learn at last to be upon their guard, and strong every where, and then I shall have a very bad time of it."

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

20th May, 1759.

I HAVE only to add to what is contained in my other letters, that the King of Prussia, in the conversation I had with him yesterday, expressed his most ardent desire for peace, and expatiated much on the danger of his own situation, and, indeed, of the whole system upon the Continent; but, as this is well known to your Lordship, I need say no more upon it.

It is impossible to describe the fatigue of body and mind which this hero King daily undergoes, and that with an appearance of perfect tranquility, even in the most unfavourable and perplexing circumstances.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Landshut, Thursday, 24th May, 1759.

My Lord,

Since I dispatched Garstin, the messenger, the 20th, I am honoured with your Lordship's letter of the 8th instant, by post.

May 21st, about three in the afternoon, a corps of about six thousand Austrians, partly regulars, commanded by Generals Loudon and Guisruck, attacked the little town of *Liebau* before and behind, having sent parties through the woods for that purpose. Their intention, it is supposed, was to have surprised the free bataillons of Angenelli and Du Verger; but these bataillons having retired towards the camp, the Austrians took possession of *Liebau* without opposition.

The King of Prussia, on the first notice, got on horseback, and ordered the troops immediately to march. I could not but admire the alacrity and celerity with which his orders were obeyed. The troops poured in from all quarters to the different places of alarm between this and *Liebau;* and his Prussian Majesty, accompanied only with one bataillon of grenadiers, some free companies, two regiments of dragoons, and a few hussars, went directly to attack. The enemy seeing the good countenance of the troops, thought proper to retire after a slight skirmish, and they were followed in their retreat to *Dittersbach*, and as far as *Königshayn*, in Bohemia; but night coming on, and there being

dangerous defiles to pass, it was not thought proper to continue the pursuit.

The loss on the side of the Prussians is very inconsiderable, and what the Austrians have suffered must be chiefly by the superiority of the Prussian artillery during the retreat. I cannot but express my concern, that, on this occasion, his Prussian Majesty exposed his person too much; for he was at the place of attack before the troops could be assembled, and posted himself at the head of his dragoons, of whom several were wounded with musket-balls. The King of Prussia returned to his quarter before nine o'clock at night, and all was quiet.

22*nd*.—Five bataillons encamped this day near the former camp, so that there is now, between this and *Liebau*, ten bataillons and two regiments of dragoons encamped. The rest of the army remain in their quarters.

23*rd* and 24*th*.—Nothing has happened.

Yesterday a *chasseur* from Prince Henry, dispatched the 18th, arrived here. He brings account that the Prince has taken possession of *Bamberg* and *Cullenbach*, and destroyed the different magazines upon the *Mayn*. The numbers of his prisoners amount now to upwards of three thousand. The army of the empire retire in great precipitation towards *Nuremberg*, and the Prince's advanced guard was got some miles beyond *Bamberg*, but it is thought he cannot advance much farther. The desertion from the army of the empire is very considerable.

It is said that since the irruption of Prince Henry into Franconia, the Austrians have made considerable detachments towards *Egra* and to *Prague*, and that Marshal Daun, with the gross of the army, is now encamped behind the *Elbe*.

I am, &c.

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Very secret. 4°.

Landshut, Thursday, 24th May, 1759.

MY LORD,

In my *very secret* letter to your Lordship, of the 20th, I mentioned that the Grand Vizir[4] said to Mr. Rexin that the Turks had pretensions upon the *Bannat*, by which it would seem, that if the Porte does act, it will be against the Empress Queen; but I forgot to mention to your Lordship that Mr. Rexin thinks that the Grand Vizir was disposed to permit the Cham of Tartary to molest the Russians by way of diversion.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

P.S.—The King of Prussia has already asked me when I expected to have an answer to my dispatch of the 20th. I answered, it was impossible to fix a time, as that depended on the winds, but I could assure him that the King's ministers would not lose one moment.

A. M.

[4] This appears to have been the received spelling of this word at that time. It is so spelled in the dispatches of Mr. Porter, the English ambassador at Constantinople.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Landshut, Wednesday, 30th May, 1759.

My Lord,

Since my last, of the 24th, I am honoured with your Lordship's letter of the 15th.

May 25th and *26th.*—Some regiments of infantry and two regiments of cuirassiers encamped.

27th.—The King of Prussia shifted his quarter from *Landshut* to *Reich-Hennerdorff*, a village somewhat more than a mile distant from hence, and on the road to *Liebau.*

28th and *29th.*—More regiments encamped.

It is impossible to give your Lordship an idea of the figure of this camp without the help of a drawing. The infantry (which consist of thirty bataillons) encamp in two lines, and the village of *Reich-Hennersdorff* lies between them. On the hills that flank each of the wings are placed strong batteries, which sweep the opening into the plain of *Liebau*, through which the enemy must pass if they intend to attack here. The ground of this plain is very marshy, and cut with several rivulets, which renders it extremely difficult for the cavalry to act in. The free bataillons are still in possession of *Liebau*, and they, together with some hussars, form the out-guards upon the frontier, with orders to retire immediately when attacked in force. Behind the two lines of infantry, two regiments of dragoons and two of cuirassiers are encamped in the hollows between the hills; for the

ground all the way from hence to *Reich-Hennersdorff* is hilly.

This camp is thought to be extremely well chose and strong, and his Prussian Majesty has made the best of the situation, which has this peculiar in it, arising partly from the unevenness of the grounds, that the whole army cannot be seen from any one of the neighbouring mountains, nor the position and strength of it discovered by the enemy.

It is the opinion of some officers, that as this post is so strong, the principal attack will not be made here, but that the enemy may attempt to penetrate by *Schomberg*, *Friedland*, or *Tanhausen*, which passes, I am told, are likewise well guarded. Other officers say, that Marechal Daun may attempt to amuse, and, if possible, to gain some marches towards Lusatia; but in this case his magazines may be in danger.

Some days ago his Prussian Majesty had notice that the corps of General De Ville was withdrawn from the Upper Silesia, and, it is reckoned, by this time may have joined Marshal Daun's army. Immediately on receiving this news General Fouquet had orders to approach this army, and he is now encamped at *Bielau*, not far from *Reichenbach* and *Tanhausen*, so as to cover *Schweidnitz*, and to be able to send succours to *Friedland*, or even here if they should be wanted. The armies are now so near each other, that something of consequence must happen in a very few days.

The King of Prussia does expect to be attacked here; witness the preparations and different movements he

has made; if the enemy should come, they will find everything ready for their reception.

The latest letters from Prince Henry of Prussia are of the 25th. He was then in the country of Bamberg. Lieutenant-General Finck occupied *Hoff*, and Major-General Schenkendorff was detached to *Zwickau;* by the precautions, it is thought the Prince's retreat will be quite secure. His Royal Highness never intended to go farther than *Bamberg*, for reasons I have mentioned to your Lordship in former letters; but he pushed a detachment towards *Nuremberg*, and another towards *Kitzingen*, where they destroyed a considerable magazine.

I hear the Russians have sent three thousand men to *Stolpen* in Pomerania, and that the rest of the army remained still upon the *Vistula.*

I have just received notice that Lieutenant-General Seidlitz, with a large body of cavalry, had approached *Hirschberg;* so that on whatever side the enemy chuses to act, whether in Silesia or Lusatia, his Prussian Majesty is ready to receive or to follow them.

The Austrian army still continue about *Jaromirs* and *Königshoff;* the head quarter is at *Schürtz;* there are large detachments at *Braunau*, *Politz*, and *Trautenau;* and the whole frontier swarms with irregulars.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Secret.

Landshut, Saturday, 16th June, 1759.

My Lord,

The King of Prussia seems now to believe that he will not be attacked here, and that Marshal Daun will probably march into Lusatia.

A few days ago the King of Prussia sent me a petition that was presented to him in the name of Messrs. De Villy, Desaubrys, Bennezet, and Company, French merchants, praying his good offices with the King for leave to send from some port in France a ship in ballast, to bring home the effects of the said merchants from the Island of St. Domingo under a proper passport. His Prussian Majesty immediately saw the absurdity of this request, but said he would send Monsieur Desaubrys (the person who brought the petition) to get an answer from me, which he desired might be a civil one, as Desaubrys had obtained a letter of recommendation from the Margrave of Bareuth, whom he wanted to manage. This I did in the best manner I was able, and sent him away satisfied of the impossibility of granting his request.

Monsieur Desaubrys seems to be a simple, well-meaning man, and to have been drawn into this scrape by one De la Marche Courmon, a French adventurer, who said he had formerly been in the service of the Margrave of Bareuth, and who on his arrival here had the indiscretion to say that he had a peace in his

pocket, and when afterwards by importunity he obtained an audience of the King of Prussia, he owned that he had been sent out of France by a *Lettre de Cachet*, and said that he was very well with the French ministers, particularly with the Duke de Choiseul, that is to say, "I am his wife's favourite." The King of Prussia laughed very heartily, and ordered him to leave Landshut the next day.

This Courmon is one of those low, dirty Frenchmen with which almost all the lesser Courts of Germany are infested, and I should hardly have mentioned this trifling affair, if I was not persuaded that false and groundless reports will be raised upon it; but, trifling as it is, I must entreat that it may be kept secret, as his Prussian Majesty desired I would say nothing of it in my public correspondence.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Landshut, Saturday, 30th June, 1759.

MY LORD,

Since my last, of the 24th, I have been favoured with Mr. Pottenger's letter of the 15th, inclosing a copy of the Extraordinary Gazette of the 14th. Permit me, on this occasion, to congratulate your Lordship, and at the same time acquaint you that the glorious success of his Majesty's arms at Guadaloupe gave infinite satisfaction to his Prussian Majesty, and spread an universal joy over the whole army. Everybody com-

mended the bravery and conduct of the King's officers, and admired their prudence and humanity in the capitulation they have granted to the inhabitants.

June 25*th* and 26*th*.—Nothing happened. But on the 27*th*, the King of Prussia, accompanied with some dragoons and hussars, went to reconnoitre the enemy's foreposts towards *Friedland*, and pierced as far as *Wernersdorff* into Bohemia, where he made ten hussars prisoners, with the loss of one man and two wounded. The King returned to the camp about five in the afternoon.

28*th*.—Everything was quiet.

29*th*.—His Prussian Majesty having noticed that the Austrian army was moving towards Lusatia, immediately ordered some bataillons of grenadiers, accompanied with the piquets of dragoons, hussars, and two free bataillons, to march, and led them himself to Schatzlar, in Bohemia, which he took possession of, after a very short resistance. Fifty-six hussars and Croates were sabred or made prisoners, among whom are three officers. The King returned to the camp about eight at night, but left his troops in possession of Schatzlar.

30*th*. — This morning early his Prussian Majesty detached Lieutenant-General Wedel and Major-General Rebentish, with 12 bataillons infantry, and 15 squadrons of dragoons and hussars, to occupy *Trautenau*, and there is reason to believe that they are now actually in possession of it.

At the same time Lieutenant-General Seidlitz was

detached with 6 bataillons infantry, and 15 squadrons of dragoons and hussars, towards *Hirschberg*, in order to secure the passes, in case the enemy should attempt to enter that way, or through Lusatia, into Silesia.

Major-General Bulow, who guarded the pass of *Tanhausen*, had orders to join the King's army immediately. He has accordingly marched into the camp this afternoon, and occupies the same ground which General Wedel's corps have quitted.

It is yet impossible to say what may be the real intention of Marshal Daun, but it is conjectured that the gross of his army will remain at *Jung Buntzlau*, whilst he will endeavour to penetrate into Silesia through Lusatia with a strong detachment. A very few days must clear this matter up, and perhaps the news he is likely soon to receive may occasion a total alteration in his plan of operations.

The Russians have marched in three columns: the first is arrived at *Posen*, on the *Warta;* the second at *Nackel*, on the *Netze;* the third has passed the *Vistula*, near *Thorn;* and these columns are distant from each other ten German miles.

The detachment from Prince Henry's army, led by Lieutenant-General Hulsen, after marching by *Franckfort* and *Crossen*, has gained the army commanded by General Dohna, who has entered Poland by *Schwerin*, and marches directly on to *Nackel*, where it is believed he must have arrived either yesterday or this day.

I need not observe to your Lordship that by this manœuvre of his Prussian Majesty, and the unskillfulness

of the Russian Generals, if the column at *Nackel* be defeated (and Dohna is much stronger) the whole Russian army will be cutt, and may be beat *in detail*, or forced to disperse and repass the *Vistula*.

These, my Lord, are our hopes and expectations, founded on so great probabilities, that I flatter myself in a few days to be able to send you an account of the accomplishment of them.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

P.S.—Inclosed is a copy of the manifesto published by General Dohna on his entering Poland. A. M.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Most secret. 4o.

Landshut, Wednesday, 4th July, 1759.

MY LORD,

It is feared the King of Prussia's project of cutting the Russian army has failed by the slowness of his Generals. This has put his Prussian Majesty in very bad humour; and it is truely a hard case to be under the almost fatal necessity of executing in person the projects he has formed.

What follows is mere conjecture. As the King of Prussia leads the first column of his army, and Marshal Daun seems rather to point towards Saxony than Silesia, I think it not improbable that his Prussian Majesty, whilst his troops are marching, may himself go and take the command of his army in Poland; and his

absence will not immediately be perceived by the army, as it marches in separate columns, nor so easily discovered by the enemy.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Camp of Schmotsieffen, Friday, 13th July, 1759.

MY LORD,

Since my last, of the 4th, from *Landshut*, I have had no letter from England, nor no opportunity of writing to your Lordship.

July 5th.—The King of Prussia marched with the first two columns to *Hirschberg*, and the next day advanced to *Waltersdorff* to support General Seidlitz.

6th.—The Margrave Charles led the rest of the army to *Hirschberg*, but the roads were so extremely bad, by the constant and excessive rains that had fallen for several days, that the artillery belonging to the first two columns of the army did not arrive till the 7th; and as the march had been very fatiguing, this part of the army halted on the 8th at *Hirschberg*.

9th.—The Margrave Charles advanced to *Spiler*, a small village about two German miles from *Hirschberg*, on the left side of the *Bober;* and on the 10th he joined the corps led by his Prussian Majesty at *Geppersdorff*, and the King himself chose a strong camp on the heights before the village of *Schmotsieffen*, where the head quarter was marked; but, after all the troops were encamped, his Majesty, not chusing to remain in the

rear of his army, moved his head quarter to a farm-house called *Durren-Vohrwerch*, situated behind an advanced guard of cavalry, which covers the right of the camp.

11*th*, 12*th*, and 13*th*.—Nothing material happened.

The figure of this camp resembles the form of a horse-shoe; the hollow of which is filled with thick woods, and both the flanks well covered. Upon the flank of the left is the little town of *Liebenthal*, and behind the right, at about the distance of one German mile, is the town of *Loewenberg*. The situation is so advantageous, that it is generally believed the Austrians will not venture to attack here, and if they should endeavour to penetrate into Silesia by *Lauban*, their flank will be exposed, or they may have a very serious affair of the rear guard.

Marshal Daun has his head quarter at *Gerlitz-Heim*, in Lusatia, and the army is placed on the heights behind the *Queiss*. The right, extending towards *Grieffenberg*, is covered by the corps of General Beck, and the left, stretching towards *Lauban*, is covered by the corps of General Laudon, and is distant from the Prussian camp about six English miles. It is said Marshal Daun has detached five thousand men to occupy *Görlitz*, and I hear that Prince Henry of Prussia has taken possession of *Budissin*, which, it is hoped, will prevent the Austrians from detaching either into Saxony or towards Berlin.

As the Austrians have withdrawn their troops from the higher Silesia, General Fouquet with his corps

occupies the post of *Landshut*, and General Rebentish has joined this army.

The Prussian army have, at length, passed the *Warta*, which they should have done sooner; and I hear the Russians are greatly alarmed, and calling out for help, though nothing material has happened between them, only some skirmishes, in which the Cossacks have not been spared.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

14th July, 1759.

P.S.—Yesterday the Duke of Würtemberg was detached with a corps of cavalry to cover the communication with *Loewenberg*.

This day nothing has happened; the enemy keep their former position. I hear that the corps of Austrians which served under General Haddick, in Franconia, is now at *Zittaw*.

Inclosed, No. 1, is the manifesto referred to in my letter of the 30th June, but forgot to be sent; and No. 2, a paper of news I have this day received.

A. M.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Camp of Schmotseiffen,
Friday, 20th July, 1759.

MY LORD,

Since my last, of the 13th and 14th, from this place, I have had no letter from England.

Nothing material has happened here. The army

remains encamped as mentioned in my last, and I do not hear that the position of the Austrian army is at all changed.

On the 18th, the Duke of Wurtemberg and General Rebentish were detached towards *Sagan*, upon intelligence that the corps under General Laudon was moving that way; but I am informed this day that they are returning again to the camp, as Laudon remains in his former position, to cover the right of the Austrian army near *Lauban*. The post the Duke of Wurtemberg had near *Loewenberg*, was immediately occupied by General Lentulus, with two regiments of cavalry.

The corps of Austrians commanded by Generals Harsch and De Ville, attacked, with great superiority of force, the free bataillon of Luderitz, which General Fouquet had placed at *Friedland*, in Silesia, at too great a distance from the gross of his troops, which are at *Landshut;* and, I hear, the bataillon made a brave defence, but was overpowered and has suffered considerably.

The latest accounts from General Dohna's army say that the Russians were encamped near *Posen*, and entrenched to the teeth, but that the Prussians were endeavouring to cut off their provisions.

His Prussian Majesty is extremely vigilant; he reconnoitres the enemy's posts every day, attended sometimes with a body of horse and foot, and sometimes only a very small escorte of hussars, exposing his person to the greatest hazards, in a country covered with little hills or thick woods, and formed by nature

for ambuscades, and in the face of an enemy that abounds with light troops.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Most secret.

Camp of Schmotseiffen,
Friday, 20th July, 1759.

MY LORD,

The King of Prussia told me this day, that Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick's conduct had given him great uneasiness for some time past; that he feared the unhappy affair of *Bergen* had made too deep an impression upon him; that he, King of Prussia, had taken great pains, and wrote often to the Prince, as well by way of advice, as to encourage and animate him.

His Prussian Majesty added, that he had been greatly disappointed by the conduct of General Dohna and the other officers in that army; that if they had done what he had ordered, and what they might have executed, he should now have been free of the Russians, and in a condition to have succoured Prince Ferdinand.

The conjecture I ventured in my secret letter of the 4th, I believe was well founded, for the King of Prussia would himself have taken the command of Dohna's army, but finding Marshal Daun with the great Austrian army ready to profit of his absence, it was impossible to think of it; he has, therefore, this morning sent Lieutenant-General Wedel with dictatorial powers to that army, and the King of Prussia hopes for success

from Wedel's ability. It is reckoned he may reach the army after to-morrow.

I with concern observe to your Lordship that there are no less than five Lieutenant-Generals in that army older than Wedel. I wish they may submit to their Sovereign's order, and shew themselves good subjects. Their talents as Generals are at least doubtfull, but want of capacity is seldom accompanied with candour and modesty.

Some time ago, his Prussian Majesty sent Major-General Wopersnow to General Dohna's army, to explain his intentions, but unhappily this man is every way unequal to the task, and has done harm.

If reports in the army may be credited, the Russians never were entrenched; the conduct of the Prussian Generals is highly censured. When celerity and vivacity were requisite, they marched like snails; and when they should have acted, they held councils of war. It is said, whilst they were consulting, the Russian army had like to have turned them, and to have got possession of *Mezeritz*.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Camp of Schmotseiffen,
Tuesday, 24th July, midnight, 1759.

MY LORD,

I acquainted your Lordship in my last, of the 20th, that his Prussian Majesty, dissatisfied with the

conduct of General Dohna, had thought proper to send Lieutenant-General Wedel to command the army against the Russians, which had retired towards *Zulichau.* That General joined the Prussian army as last Sunday the 22nd, of which there was no notice yesterday.

I waited this morning on his Prussian Majesty at the head quarter, and had afterwards the honour of dining with him : there were then no farther accounts from that army.

This night, after nine o'clock, Mr. Eichel, who is lodged in the same village, acquainted me, by the King of Prussia's order, that a few hours ago an aid-de-camp was arrived from General Wedel with the following account of an action that happened yesterday morning between the two armies.

The Russian army, which was encamped in sight of the Prussian near *Zulichau,* began to march towards *Crosen,* and General Wedel thought proper to attack them upon their march, which he did with great success, having, it is reckoned, killed seven thousand upon the spot, with very little loss on his side (it is said, 300 killed and 500 wounded). Lieutenant-General Schurlemer, at the head of the Prussian cavalry, distinguished himself very much, and made great slaughter of the enemy. I do not hear of the loss of any general officer on the side of the Prussians, except Major-General Wopersnow, who was killed in the action.

These are all the particulars that are yet known of

this affair, but I hope soon to send your Lordship a more ample relation.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Camp of Hermsdorff, near Görlitz,
Sunday, 23rd September, 1759.

MY LORD,

Since my last from *Sagan*, of the 31st August, I have had no letter from your Lordship, for all communication between this army and the rest of Europe has been most effectually stopped for two months past; I shall, however, continue the journal of the army under the command of his Royal Highness, whose conduct deserves the highest applause, and whose success, under the most difficult and discouraging circumstances, has greatly exceeded expectation.

1*st September*.—The army continued at *Sagan*. The intention of his Royal Highness's march to this place was to succour the King of Prussia in his present difficult and dangerous situation, in case Marshal Daun, or a strong detachment from his army, should have marched towards *Berlin*, or have joined the Russians; in either case his Royal Highness would have attempted to follow, and to harrass and retard the motions of the enemy as much as possible.

The great Austrian army is on the other side the *Neisse* (General Beck at *Pribus*, and Marshal Daun at *Moska*), at a small distance from hence, which renders

the junction with the King of Prussia's army impracticable; and his Royal Highness, apprehending that he may be attacked in this post (which is by no means a good one), ordered General Fouquet at *Schmotseiffen* to send him some of the bataillons which he had left behind, and which belonged properly to this army; but that General has not yet complyed with the order.

2*nd.*—This morning some firing of cannon was heard at a distance beyond the woods on the left of the river; and about two afternoon General Ziethen, who since the 29th of last month had occupied *Sorau*, returned happily with his whole corps, without suffering in the retreat. By what I hear from general officers who were present, that corps was in the greatest danger of being cut off, having a defilé and thick woods to pass through before they could rejoin the Prince's army; and the Austrians marching, at the same time, in four different columns, from *Pribus*, *Tribel*, *Moska*, and *Gassen*, could not have failed to have surrounded them, had they attempted it by daybreak; but the heads of their columns beginning only to appear about nine o'clock, gave General Ziethen time to execute his retreat in perfect good order, by which he has saved 10 bataillons and 25 squadrons, of which that corps consisted.

3*rd.*—All was quiet. The woods on the left side of the river, which were before difficult, are now become impracticable (being filled with Austrian Croates, pandours, &c.); they are of great extent, and there is

no getting round them, for behind the woods lyes the Austrian army. Marshal Daun's quarter is at *Sorau.*

4*th.*—By the reports of our hussars it was imagined that the Austrians intended to attack on the left side of the river, which occasioned divers alarms, and his Royal Highness was on horseback the greatest part of the day.

5*th.*—Last night the Croates and other light troops coming out of the woods on the left of the river, occasioned skirmishing and firing with our hussars all night long, but with very little damage to either side.

His Royal Highness having in some measure accomplished the intention of his march hither, which was, to operate by way of diversion, and draw off a part of the Austrian force from acting against the King his brother, or in case Marshal Daun had persisted either to join the Russian army, or to act in a separate corps upon the flank of his Prussian Majesty, so as to facilitate the taking of *Berlin* (which with great reason was apprehended to be the design) or to force the King to fight at a disadvantage ; I say, in either of these cases, his Royal Highness intended to follow Marshal Daun as far as was possible, though the execution of this resolution must have been extremely difficult and hazardous, as a few marches more would have put it in the power of the enemy to cut him off from his subsistence, which is drawn from the magazines in the strong places of Silesia.

By the intelligence of yesterday, it appearing that the Austrians intended to pass the *Bober* and get possession of *Sprottau*, his Royal Highness, last night, by way of precaution, detached Major-General Czetteritz to

guard that river, and to occupy *Sprottau*, which he having happily executed, order was given this day for the army to march at three in the afternoon.

From the preparations made by the Austrians, it was apprehended there would have been a very serious affair of the rear-guard, but nothing happened ; a few hussars only followed, which were easily, and without loss, repulsed by General Krockow, who covered the retreat.

I shall now endeavour to give your Lordship an idea of the situation of Sagan, by which it will appear that the place is by no means tenable.

The town of *Sagan* stands upon the right of the *Bober*, in the midst of a circular bason, formed by two *Rideaux* on the right and left side of the river. The diameter of this plain is about one English mile, and the edges of it all round are covered with thick woods of very large extent. The country on the right side of the river is more open and cultivated than on the left. The *Bober*, in most places hereabouts, is fordable, so it was apprehended, considering the very great superiority of numbers in the Austrian army, that they might easily make a feint attack upon the right of the Prussian camp, and at the same time send considerable force to occupy *Sprottau* and *Buntzlau*, which would have reduced his Royal Highness's army to great difficulties on account of subsistence ; or, if he had chose to remain in the camp of *Sagan*, it was possible for the enemy to have occupied the woods on the right side of the river, as they had done those on the left, and in that case the Prussian army would have been totally surrounded.

For these reasons his Royal Highness thought proper to quit the post of *Sagan*, and to regulate his subsequent motions upon those of the enemy.

The army arrived late and encamped about half a mile beyond *Sprottau*.

6*th*.—The army marched at seven in the morning to *Buntzlau*, a very long and fatiguing march of five German miles, but were not followed by the enemy, who, we hear, however, last night took possession of *Sagan*.

Whilst the army was on its march between *Sagan* and *Sprottau* yesterday, in the evening a messenger, in disguise, arrived from the King of Prussia. The letter he brings is cyphered and dated the 1st instant, from *Walda*, by which it appears that his Prussian Majesty is in good spirits. He desires the Prince to take care of Silesia, and acquaints him that General Wunsch had retaken *Torgau* and *Wittenberg*. This is the only letter the Prince has had from his brother since the 24th of last month.

It is reported, but I do not know upon what authority, that his Prussian Majesty had pushed a party towards *Luben*, that the Russians were retiring and proposed to join the Austrian army.

7*th*.—The army marched, crossed the *Bober*, and encamped on the heights of *Kuntzendorff*, distant about one mile from the camp of *Schmotseiffen*.

His Royal Highness being informed that the Austrians had abandoned *Marg-Lissa*, and left but a very weak garrison at *Lauban*, sent an order to General Stutterheim

to march with some bataillons from the camp of *Schmotseiffen*, and occupy the post of *Marg-Lissa*, in order to gain the flank of the enemy, and, if possible, to seize their magazines at *Friedland* and *Zittau*.

8*th*.—The troops being fatigued halted in the camp of *Kuntzendorff*; the head quarter was at *Neuland*, and his Royal Highness marched with a detachment to *Lauban*, which he occupied.

General Ziethen was likewise detached to *Marg-Lissa*, near which place he took fifty-four men and some officers prisoners. General Stutterheim was ordered to go on to *Friedland*, and the next day to *Zittau*, and General Ziethen to march to *Seydenberg* to support him.

9*th*.—The army marched in two columns to *Lauban*, and encamped on the right side of the *Queiss*. The high grounds on the other side of the river are likewise occupied. This post is extremely strong by nature, and rendered more so by the works thrown up by Marshal Daun during his long residence near this place, so that it affords matter of speculation to the whole army why General De Ville has quitted this post, which he could easily have defended against a much superior force to any his Royal Highness could bring against it.

General Stutterheim has succeeded in his attempt upon *Friedland*, and destroyed a small magazine which he found there, and he has made about seven hundred pandours, among whom are two Lieutenant-Colonels and eleven officers, prisoners.

10*th*.—The army marched to *Neukretschen*, about

half-way to *Görlitz*, and reconnoitred from the top of the hill the Austrian camp, the right of which was rested at *Görlitz*. It was of a considerable length, and computed to contain from eighteen to twenty thousand men. There was intelligence that, the night before, De Ville had been joined by Beck's corps, but there being no certain notice where Marshal Daun was, his Royal Highness did not think proper to pass the *Neiss*, nor to advance nearer *Görlitz*, but ordered the army to encamp about half a mile to the left behind the village of *Plaffendorff;* and General Bülow, who, the same morning, had marched from *Naumburg*, upon the *Queiss*, with a small corps, which served to cover the rear of the Prince's army, arrived about mid-day, and encamped at *Neukretschen*, whilst General Ziethen advanced with his corps to *Schönberg*. At the same time Major-General Krockow was detached to *Mois* and *Hermsdorff* (villages very near *Görlitz*) to watch the motions in the Austrian camp.

All these camps of ostentation, for so I must call them, had the desired effect. The Austrians about mid-night decamped, and marched towards *Budissin*, though they were strongly posted, and, at least, equal in number to any force his Royal Highness could bring against them.

11*th*.—General Krokow took possession of *Görlitz* about four in the morning, and immediately followed the rear of De Ville's and Beck's corps. He made about fifty prisoners, among whom were two Lieutenant-Colonels.

This morning an account came from General Stutterheim that he had destroyed some hundred waggon-loads of flour before the town of *Zittau*, but that he could not attempt to take the town, the garrison of which, consisting of six companies of grenadiers, having the night before been reinforced by thirteen hundred reconvalescents from Prague, and his whole force amounting only to four bataillons, with some dragoons and hussars. But, being informed that a very great number of waggons loaded with flour, &c., were sent from *Zittau* to *Gabel*, he had detached Major Reichenstein, with one hundred and forty hussars, after them.

In the afternoon, his Royal Highness had notice that Major Reichenstein had succeeded in his expedition, and destroyed the whole convoy, which is said to have consisted of upwards of four thousand barrels of flour. Two hundred Austrian hussars issued out of *Gabel* to save the convoy. Reichenstein attacked them, killed about thirty or forty, and made one hundred and seven prisoners.

The success his Royal Highness has had in destroying the Austrian magazines at *Friedland* and *Zittau*, is greatly allayed by the accounts received (from the merchants of *Görlitz*) of the surrender of *Dresden*, on the 4th instant, which I look upon as certain, though his Royal Highness has yet no direct notice of that most unhappy event.

12*th*.—The army marched to, and encamped at, *Hermsdorff*, about three quarters of a German mile.

General Bülow comes to *Hoch-Kirk*, General Stutterheim to Great *Rathmeritz*, and General Ziethen passes the *Neiss*, and occupies the *Lands-Crone*. These camps may soon be united, being distant from each other about half a mile only, and serve at once to cover Silesia, and to facilitate any future attempt that may be made upon the town of *Zittau*.

13*th*.—The army halted. The Prince has made several detachments to get intelligence of Marshal Daun's motions.

This day, the Prince received letters from the King his brother, from *Waldo*, of the 4th and 8th instant, that the Russians were thinking of retiring through Poland, and the messenger that brought the letter says he was obliged to pass by *Frankfort* and *Crossen;* that on Monday last, the 10th, he heard a very great firing, which lasted for upwards of six hours, and was told that his Prussian Majesty had defeated the Russians near *Cothbus;* that on Tuesday, the 11th, in the morning, he saw the Russian baggage filing off near *Crossen*. We wait with great impatience for the confirmation of this news.

14*th*.—General Krokow, who led a strong *patrouille* towards *Moska*, had the good fortune to fall in with the rear of Marshal Daun's army, and brought off two hundred and twenty-five prisoners. His hussars took some waggons and about five hundred horses.

15*th*.—General Bülow is advanced from *Hoch-Kirk*, and he now encamps with his corps between this and *Görlitz*.

His Royal Highness has ordered two bridges to be thrown over the *Neiss*, a little above the town of *Görlitz*, to secure the communication with the troops encamped on the *Lands-Crone*.

It is said that Marshal Daun is encamped behind *Budissin*, on the other side of the *Spree*, and that De Ville's corps encamps before that town. Beck, with his corps, is detached to cover *Zittau*.

16*th*.—This morning General Ziethen marched with part of his corps to *Seydenberg*, and General Stutterheim is to advance towards *Zittau*, but as Beck is believed to be already there, little is expected from this expedition.

17*th*.—General Ziethen made a few prisoners, and I hear the small garrison of *Friedland* retired to *Zittau* upon the approach of General Stutterheim, who still continues in that neighbourhood, and sends in forrage from Bohemia to this camp, which begins to be very scarce in this country.

18*th*.—His Royal Highness told me last night he had a letter from the King of Prussia of the 13th. The Russians continue near *Guben*, and his Prussian Majesty is still at *Waldo*. The letter mentions an advantage gained by Major-General Wunsch over an Austrian General, St. André, but gives no particulars of this action.

The Prince has certain notice that five regiments of infantry and as many of cavalry, detached from Marshal Daun's army, arrived after a forced march on the 16th, at night, at *Moska*, and marched the next morning.

This news justly gives uneasiness, as the destination of this corps is not yet known.

19*th* and 20*th*.—Nothing happened. General Stutterheim still continues in Bohemia near *Friedland*, and General Ziethen at *Seydenberg*.

I am informed, the number of prisoners taken by his Royal Highness since he marched from *Sagan*, amounts to upwards of nineteen hundred.

21*st*.—This day we have notice that one of the patrouilles from this army had met with a patrouille from the King of Prussia's army at *Moska*, so it is hoped the communication will soon be opened between the armies. Hitherto, all correspondence has been carried on by means of peasants, who are five or six days on the road, and bring only a small note in cypher, which is generally of very little importance by the time it arrives, as circumstances change daily; so that it has not been possible for his Royal Highness to act upon any concerted plan with his Prussian Majesty.

It is said the Russians have taken possession of *Christianstadt*, upon the *Bober*, and General Soltikow has issued patents requiring the inhabitants of Silesia to bring in forrage and provisions for the subsistence of his troops, and that the King of Prussia, with his army, was advanced to *Forst*, upon the *Neiss*, and would the next day occupy *Sagan*.

The King of Prussia, in his letter to Prince Henry, having insinuated that he thought that Prince, with the army he had under his command, might be able to

defend *Torgau, Wittemberg,* and *Leipzig,* and, likewise, to have an eye to the security of *Berlin,* whilst he, King of Prussia, marched into Silesia, his Royal Highness judged proper to make representations to his Prussian Majesty upon this project (the execution of which is attended with great difficulties and hazards), and this day sent a letter by *an officer of hussars,* and thirty men, who has orders to follow his Prussian Majesty wherever he is, and to bring an answer directly, which is expected with the greatest impatience, as Marshal Daun's army is said to be moving from behind *Budissin* towards *Weissemberg* and *Reichenbach,* and one movement more may oblige the Prince to return to *Lauban,* where it will be no longer in his power to attempt the execution of the project upon Saxony.

22*nd.*—The officer of hussars returned this evening, having found his Prussian Majesty at *Sagan,* who thinks the Russians and Austrians under General Laudon have a design upon *Glogau.* He, therefore, persists that the Prince should endeavour to get between Marshal Daun's army and Saxony, though the bare attempt is attended with very doubtful consequences and very great risk.

23*rd.*—Yesterday the Austrians took possession of *Reichenbach,* and are again in motion.

His Royal Highness ordered the baggage of the army to move this morning to *Lichtenberg,* a village behind the camp, and on the road to *Lauban.* This was done to cover his real design; and late in the afternoon the

order was given for the army to be ready to march at seven o'clock at night, which was accordingly executed, and shall be the subject of my next letter.

I am, &c.,

AND^R. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

4°.

Hoyerswerda, Thursday, 27th Sept., 1759.

MY LORD,

Since my last, of the 18th, from *Görlitz*, I have the pleasure to inform your Lordship that his Royal Highness Prince Henry, after a march almost incredible, (from the camp of *Hermsdorff* near *Görlitz*, by *Rothenburg*, to this place, being full eleven German miles, performed in less than forty-eight hours,) has had the good fortune to surprise the whole corps of General Vela encamped at *Hoyerswerda*.

The attack was very brisk, and lasted about three quarters of an hour, when the Austrians gave way, and fled into the woods behind this town; but being followed, and partly surrounded by our hussars, their loss is very considerable (upon the field and in the woods about six hundred killed); and by the list of prisoners delivered to his Royal Highness, there are near fourteen hundred, among whom is General Vela, and upwards of 20 officers.

This corps, I am informed, consisted of four thousand men, chiefly Croates and Hungarian infantry, with some hussars, which were entirely dispersed. They have

lost three pieces of cannon, and about three hundred of the prisoners are desperately wounded.

Of the Prussians, there were only six squadrons of Gersdorff's hussars and one hundred dragoons actually engaged (the rest shewed themselves in order of battle). Their loss is trifling, being about one hundred killed and wounded.

His Royal Highness marched on the 23rd, at seven at night, from the camp of *Hermsdorff*, and the action happened on the 25th, about five afternoon, behind this town.

I hear Marshal Daun took possession of *Görlitz* on the 24th, in the morning, but so soon as he discovered that his Royal Highness was marching towards Saxony, he returned to *Budissin*, where he may have arrived either last night or this day.

His Prussian Majesty was advanced on the 24th to *Neustadt*, in *Silesia*, to cover *Glogau*, and is in good health and spirits. The Russians that were at *Guben*, it is said, will repass the *Bober* for want of subsistence, and are greatly dissatisfied with the conduct of the Austrians, if the reports of some of their officers may be credited.

The army has halted here yesterday and this day, but will march to-morrow morning. I shall dispatch a messenger so soon as I can with safety; in the mean time I send this by estaffette to *Berlin*.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Elsterwerda, Monday, 1st October, 1759.

My Lord,

Enclosed I send your Lordship a duplicate of my last letter, of the 27th September.

I have little to add to the account of the affair of *Hoyerswerda;* only the number of prisoners exceeded that I gave by upwards one hundred, of which near eleven hundred marched along with the army hither, and were sent off with an escorte of dragoons yesterday afternoon to *Torgau.* Upwards of four hundred were left at *Hoyerswerda,* being so desperately wounded, that they could not be transported; and General Vela gave a declaration that they were still to be deemed prisoners.

On the 28th September his Royal Highness marched to Ruhland, and on the 29th to this place; for the army halt for bread, which will be delivered this day; and it is probable we shall march to-morrow towards *Meissen.*

Upon the march hither his Royal Highness was for several days alarmed with bad but vague accounts of General Fink's being entirely defeated by the Austrians, and that he had lost his artillery, &c.; but, on the 29th September, an officer from General Fink's army arrived, and gives the following account, viz., that on the 21st September the combined army of the Austrians and the Empire, forty thousand men strong, attacked

General Fink in his post near *Meissen*, and began by a most furious cannonade. That General, considering the superiority of the enemy's artillery, thought proper to march out of his post and attack them with great vivacity, and believes he should have had a compleat victory, had his cavalry behaved with the same spirit his infantry did; as it was, (though he lost seven or eight pieces of cannon, he took four or five from the enemy,) he kept the field, buried the dead, made about five hundred prisoners, and his loss in killed and wounded amounts to near twelve hundred; that of the enemy is much more considerable, and they have retired towards *Plauen*, near *Dresden*. General Fink with his corps, which does not exceed fifteen thousand men, is still at *Meissen*.

Marshal Daun is advanced to *Bischoffswerda*, and perhaps by this time occupies his old and safe residence of *Stolpen*.

The last letters from Silesia say that the Russians were actually passing the *Oder*, and that they were separated from the corps of Austrians under General Loudon, having laid aside the thoughts of besieging *Glogau*. What I have seen is almost incredible, what I have heard is past comprehension.

I languish for letters from England, having had none for three months past.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Strehla, Monday, 8th October, 1759.

My Lord,

Before I attempt to describe the bold and hazardous march now happily performed by his Royal Highness Prince Henry, I must entreat your Lordship to cast an eye upon the map of Lusatia, and to consider the position of the different armies, according to the intelligence we had at the time this march was undertaken.

His Prussian Majesty had advanced with his small army beyond *Sagan* in Silesia, having first detached Lieutenant-General Fink with a corps of twelve or fifteen thousand men into Saxony.

The Russians, besides the corps at *Christianstadt*, had still a large body of troops at *Guben*, *Pforten*, *Sommerfeldt*, and *Gassen*, situated between the *Neiss* and the *Bober*.

General Laudon with his corps of Austrians (which had been reinforced by a detachment of ten regiments, mentioned in my letter of the 23rd September,) was in possession of *Fribel*, *Sorau*, and sent patrouilles daily to *Moska*, *Pribus*, *Freywalde*, *Hablau*, and other places upon the *Neiss*. Another corps of Austrians, commanded by *Palfix*, occupied *Spremberg*, *Cothbus*, *Peitz*, and other places upon the *Sprée*, and pushed their patrouilles towards Saxony along the frontier of the Higher Lusatia.

The gross of Marshal Daun's army had advanced

from *Budissin*, and actually occupied *Weissemberg* and *Reichenbach*.

Prince Henry's army was encamped at Hermsdorff, in the neighbourhood of *Görlitz*, and a separate corps occupied the *Lands-Crone*, beyond the *Neiss*. General Ziethen was at *Seydenberg*, and General Stutterheim at *Schönwalde*, near *Zittau*.

The intention of this march was to get to *Hoyerswerda*, between Marshal Daun's army and Saxony (which could not fail to disconcert the project of entering Silesia, unless the Marshal was resolved to abandon Dresden, &c.). The execution was difficult, and attended with many hazards, as in order to get round Marshal Daun's army it was absolutely necessay to make a very great detour, and to march between the Austrian and Russian armies for a space of upwards of fifty English miles. Had the Marshal either reinforced the post of *Hoyerswerda*, or, in conjunction with the Austrian and Russian troops that were on the *Sprée* and the *Neiss*, harrassed the Prince's march, it might have been fatal to the whole army; for, by the Marshal's advancing to *Görlitz*, all communication with the magazines in Silesia was cut off, and the Prince's army after that depended for their subsistence upon the magazines of *Torgau*, *Wittemberg*, &c., from which they would likewise have been cut off, had the Austrians kept possession of *Hoyerswerda*.

So soon as his Royal Highness had resolved on this march, he gave orders for Generals Ziethen and Stutterheim to return by *Schönberg*, and to form the arrear-guard of the army.

I forgot to mention in my last, of the 23rd September, that the Prince had that day detached six bataillons to reinforce his Prussian Majesty's army, which will likewise be strengthened by a detachment from General Fouquet's corps; but, with all that, it is thought he will be obliged to act upon the defensive, and to chuse a strong post, because of the very great superiority of numbers.

24*th September*.—The army marched, at seven o'clock last night, in two columns (the baggage forming the third); the left of the first column was covered by the river *Neiss*, which at this season is fordable in most places. Crossed this river near *Rothenburg*, (which is four miles from the camp of *Hermsdorff*,) where the head of the column arrived about eleven o'clock this morning, and, after halting two hours, continued the march to *Klitten*, (three long miles from *Rothenburg*,) where the van-guard arrived about eleven at night. The rear of the army did not come into camp till eight o'clock next morning.

This most fatiguing march, which lasted for two nights and one day, almost without interruption, was absolutely necessary, in order for the Prince to get to *Hoyerswerda* the next day, from which he might easily have been cut off, had Marshal Daun in the least suspected his intention; but he was the dupe of the march to *Rothenburg*, believing that, by that movement, his Royal Highness's design was to join the army commanded by his Prussian Majesty; and all the deserters that left us before the army marched from

Rothenburg, would confirm the Marshal in his conjecture, for the secret of the march was kept with great caution, and communicated to very few of the general officers.

The country from *Hermsdorff* to *Rothenburg* is a flat, with woods at a moderate distance from each side of the river. That from *Rothenburg* to *Klitten* is more covered and cut; there are several *defilés* through villages, and some small rivulets to be passed upon bad bridges, besides some long dikes between ponds of a very great extent, all which retarded the march extremely; and it was the opinion of most officers that a mere handfull of men, properly disposed, could, in the night, not only have stopped the march of the army, but have thrown it into the greatest confusion, and that with little or no risk to themselves; but all these dangers were obviated by the address, celerity, and secrecy of his Royal Highness.

25*th*.—The van-guard of the army marched from *Klitten*, at nine o'clock in the morning, towards *Hoyerswerda*; but his Royal Highness, being apprehensive that Marshal Daun might have detached from *Budissin* (which is but four miles distant) to occupy that post, sent Major-General Lentulus, at three o'clock this morning, with two regiments of cuirassiers, to take possession of it, or to give him notice if it was already occupied.

The country between *Klitten* and *Hoyerswerda* is quite flat, and covered with thick woods. General Lentulus had the good fortune, when advanced within

half a German mile of *Hoyerswerda*, to discover by some peasants that General Vela with a corps of four or five thousand Austrians, chiefly irregulars, was encamped behind that town and in perfect security. He immediately halted, lay concealed in the woods, and sent notice to the Prince.

His Royal Highness ordered four bataillons of infantry to advance, which, together with the dragoons and hussars of the van-guard, led by General Krokow, were destined for this expedition. So soon as they got out of the woods, they marched with great celerity, and the dragoons and hussars passed the river *Elster* at a ford below the town, whilst the infantry formed in two lines in the meadows before the town, and immediately planted the artillery.

General Vela, who had sent no patrouille into the woods, thought himself secure from any attack on that side (because Marshal Daun's army was between him and the Prussians). His camp was on a rising ground, with the right rested at the town of *Hoyerswerda*, the left at a wood, and the front towards Saxony. So soon as he perceived by the dust in the plain before the town, that the enemy were marching to attack him, he did every thing that was possible on so short a notice. He sent off his baggage, and placed his cannon, so as to prevent the Prussian infantry from passing the river near the town ; but the dragoons and hussars (that had passed below the town) getting behind him, he was soon obliged to abandon the town and his camp, and to retire towards the woods, where he made a very brave

defence, and was himself taken prisoner in the rear of his army, which soon after dispersed in the woods as night came on. I need not be more particular, as I have already given your Lordship some account of this action in my letters by post of the 27th September from *Hoyerswerda*, and of the 1st October from *Elsterwerda*. I shall only add, that I had the pleasure of admiring the coolness and presence of mind, with which his Royal Highness gave his orders during the action, and the humanity and goodness with which he treated his prisoners after the action was over.

26*th*.—The army halted at *Hoyerswerda*. The van-guard occupied the camp of General Vela, and the rest of the army was encamped in the meadows on the other side of the town, with the river between them.

27*th*.—The army halted, but General Bülow was detached, with four bataillons and some hussars, to succour General Fink at *Meissen*, who is said to have been attacked a few days ago by the imperialists and the troops of the empire.[5]

28*th*.—The army marched at five o'clock in the morning to *Ruhland*, through a very bad country covered with thick woods and very marshy.

29*th*.—The army marched at five this morning to *Elsterwerda*, and encamped on a rising ground behind the town. The van-guard crossed the *Elster*, and formed a separate camp in the meadows before the town.

[5] By the Imperialists he means the Austrians, the subjects of the Empress Queen; by the troops of the Empire, the troops of the German States, forming the Germanic body, or at least a considerable part of it.

30*th.* — The army halted at *Elsterwerda*, and the ovens were erected for baking of bread.

The accounts received of Marshal Daun's motions are, that on the 24th September, in the morning, he advanced in several columns, and took possession of *Görlitz*, but, finding the next day that his Royal Highness's intention was not to march into Silesia, he hurried back again to *Budissin*, and from thence to *Bischoffswerda*.

October 1*st.* — The army halted, and his Royal Highness had notice that Marshal Daun had thrown three bridges over the Elbe, near *Dresden*, from which it was conjectured that he designed to attack the corps of General Fink before it could be joined by the Prince's army. For this reason his Royal Highness detached General Czetteritz, with five bataillons and two regiments dragoons, who had orders to cross the *Elbe* at *Torgau*, and approach the corps of Fink, in case it was to be attacked.

2*nd.* — The bridge at *Meissen* not being quite repaired, and there being scarcity of pontons, his Royal Highness resolved to march to *Torgau*, which is four miles, and at the same time ordered General Fink to retire towards *Strehla*. The army arrived at two this afternoon at *Torgau*, and could have marched on to *Strehla*, if there had been occasion.

3*rd.*—The army made a short march to *Belgern*, about half-way to *Strehla*, where General Fink continues.

His Royal Highness has left General Bülow, with four bataillons and a regiment of hussars, on the other

side of the *Elbe*, to watch the motions of the enemy, in case they should detach towards *Berlin*. He has likewise sent *patrouilles* towards *Luben*, upon notice that some Austrian hussars had been seen thereabouts.

This evening his Royal Highness had a letter from his Prussian Majesty near *Glogau*, of date the 1st, with the important news that the Russians and General Laudon's corps had crossed the *Oder* at *Carolath*. It is thought the Russians are retiring into Poland, and that Laudon will march into the higher Silesia; but this is only conjecture, for the Russians and Austrians are not yet separated.

4*th*.—The army marched this morning at two o'clock, and the junction was made with General Fink's corps this afternoon. The left of the camp is rested at *Strehla*, and the right stretches along a rising ground to a hill which covers that flank, distant about one mile from *Dahlen*. This camp is of considerable depth; the cavalry form the third line, and the corps de reserve the fourth.

5*th*.—The Austrian camp is distant only one German mile from hence; the right at *Reissa*, and the left towards *Borna;* but it is not yet certain whether Marshal Daun's whole army be there, nor whether he may not have a design on *Grimma* and *Leipzig*, for it is thought he will hardly venture to attack this post.

6*th*.—The enemy moved forward, the right at *Weyda*, the left at *Ganzig*, and are now within half a mile of the Prussian camp. This afternoon his Royal Highness brought up the corps de reserve to occupy a hill before the right of the first line.

7*th.*—His Royal Highness had given orders to General Bülow to pass the *Elbe* at *Torgau*, and to occupy *Eülenburg*, which he has done; and this morning General Rebentish was detached thither with some bataillons in order to cover *Leipzig*, and to prevent the Austrians from getting possession of the places on the *Müldau.*

8*th.*—His Royal Highness having notice from some deserters that the Austrian army was to march at three this morning, was on horseback all night, and the army was alert, and showed great spirit and good countenance, but nothing happened. He has sent patrouilles to discover whether they have detached from behind any troops towards the *Muldau*, for they still continue in their camps.

As I think in a very few days there must be an action, which will decide of our fate and of that of Saxony, I delay sending a messenger, (as I have but one,) and Mr. Eichel promises to forward this carefully to *Berlin.*

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Duke of Newcastle.

Private, p. m., per Blackmore.

Torgau, 22nd October, 1759.

PERMIT me to congratulate your Grace on the great and glorious success of his Majesty's arms by sea and by land, and on the noble figure England makes in the eyes of all Europe under your Grace's administration.

Good news from Quebec is only wanted to complete our felicity, and I hope to bring about an honourable and sure peace.

My letters to the Earl of Holdernesse will shew your Grace the situation of affairs here, which is by no means such as I could wish; however, the King of Prussia lives, and while he lives he will continue to do wonders. His Royal Highness Prince Henry, whom I have had the honour to attend these three months past, has shewed very great military talent, and though his constitution is not robust, he is indefatigable. I observe but one failing, which is in the blood; he exposes his person too much and upon slight occasions. His character and temper of mind are entirely different from his elder brother, and yet in many respects they resemble each other.

Anxiety of mind, night marches, and other uncommon fatigues have greatly impaired my health; but I hope, if I could see a happy end of this campaign, and get a little repose, to be able still to continue my functions. It is natural to wish to rise in one's profession; I therefore take the liberty to entreat your Grace to move his Majesty to name me his Minister Plenipotentiary, with the appointments, the first as a publick mark of his approbation of my conduct; the second, as what is absolutely necessary, for I am not ashamed to own to your Grace, that, notwithstanding his Majesty's liberality to me, I am not, after almost four years' laborious service, three hundred pounds richer than when I left England. I do not desire to be rich, but I dread being

dependant. M. de Knyphausen has been almost two years in England in that character. I have mentioned this request to Lord Holdernesse, and your Grace's letting me know that you have spoke to the King will entirely satisfy me, for I submit in every thing to his will, persuaded that his Majesty will do what is best and fittest for me.

It is now so long since I heard from your Grace, that I am afraid I must have somehow unwittingly offended in my correspondence. I will say nothing of my bills yet unpaid, but beg leave to recommend my executors to your Grace's protection.

I have the honour to be,
With equal sincerity and affection,
Your Grace's.[6]

Mr. Mitchell to Mr. Keith at Petersbourg.

Most secret.

Head-quarter at Görlitz,
Thursday, 15th November, 1759.

Sir,

The messenger that carries this was directed to pass by *Magdeburg,* in order to procure from Count Finkenstein an ostensible letter for you to shew to the Russian ministers; but the Count, not thinking himself authorised to give that letter, sent the messenger on to the army, and his Prussian Majesty does not think fit to send any letter of that sort. The reasons that indispose the King of Prussia to write such a letter are contained in the paper transmitted to you in my

[6] MS. at Fintray House.

last, of the 18th October; I therefore need not repeat them.

His Prussian Majesty desired me to acquaint you, that, in order to raise jealousies and diffidence among the allies, he had directed General Wyllich, his commissary for the exchange of prisoners, to insinuate to the Russian General, who is likewise commissary for the same purpose, that France was ready to make peace, that there was great disunion between the Austrians and the French, that in this situation of affairs it was very possible the Russians might be left in the lurch by their allies, and that the manner the Austrian Generals had behaved during this last campaign, was a convincing proof what little regard they had for the Russians.

The King of Prussia does not yet know what effect these insinuations may produce on the Court of Petersbourg, but he thinks you may find an opportunity to suggest to the great Chancellor, that his Prussian Majesty is well disposed to make a separate peace with the Russians, and that the natural way to begin this negociation seems to be by empowering the Russian General, employed for the exchange of prisoners, to talk with the Prussian General Wyllich, and if this Russian General should happen not to be a person of confidence, they may easily find a pretext to send one, as General Wyllich is already instructed by his master.

In order the better to dispose the great Chancellor, (who was formerly a friend of the King of Prussia's,) you will endeavour to inform yourself whether a

present in money from the King of Prussia would not be acceptable ; and, also, if there are any other persons in the confidence of the Empress, or of the Great Chancellor, to whom it might be proper likewise to make presents ; and finally, what sums may be necessary for these purposes, in case you think that money may be usefully employed on this occasion. But it is his Prussian Majesty's opinion that you should not directly talk of giving money ; for this, he thinks, would only serve to revolt even those who have a mind to accept of it.

His notion is to begin by flattering the Russian vanity, and talking much of their successes in the last campaign. Then you may endeavour to raise a jealousy and diffidence of their allies, and that the pecuniary insinuations should be made indirectly, and, perhaps, underhand to their dependants or confidants. But I need say no more, as your own knowledge of the Court and courtiers where you are will best enable you to judge what are the proper steps to be taken in this most important affair.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Private, per post.

Willsdruff, 24th November, 1759.

SOME days ago I had the honour of your Lordship's letter of the 6th, acquainting me that his Majesty had been graciously pleased to honour me with the additional

character of his plenipotentiary. This public mark of the King's approbation of my poor services fills me with sentiments of the warmest gratitude, which (in the present distracted situation of mind) I am unable properly to express; I must therefore entreat your Lordship to lay me at the King's feet, and say for me what is fit on such an occasion to such a master.

Accept of my most sincere thanks for the very obliging terms, in which you was pleased to convey his Majesty's gracious intentions towards me, and also for the kind concern you show about my health, which is by no means such as the messenger has represented it to be. I gave him a hint not to say I had been out of order, and he has overdone his part; but your Lordship may be assured that while I have the least remains of health, his Majesty's service shall not be neglected. A few days will clear up affairs here, if Dresden should be abandoned by the Austrians; or if by force his Prussian Majesty shall become master of that place, it will be of the utmost importance.

Yesterday I had the honour of attending his Prussian Majesty when he rode along the lines; the cold was more intense than ever I felt it in England, and the ground so hard-froze that there was more danger from the falling of our horses, than from the cannon of the enemy, which was however at a very moderate distance.[7]

[7] MS. at Fintray House.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Private, p. m., per post.

Willsdruff, 2nd December, 1759.

My dear Lord,

In my present anxious situation I cannot find words to express the sense I have of your Lordship's goodness, and kind attention to me and my concerns.

If * *[8] and his men had done their part, or if he had never been sent to occupy that fatal post of Maxen, we should have been in quiet possession of Dresden ten days ago; at present, I think it has become very doubtfull. What the soldiers of both armies suffer, from the rigour of the season, scarcity of wood, &c., is almost incredible. A friend of yours, that has every necessary of life, feels, and perhaps suffers, as much as the meanest of them.

I ever am.[9]

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Head Quarter at Willsdruff,
Thursday, 6th December, 1759.

My Lord,

Since my last, of the 2nd, I am honoured with your Lordship's of the 13th, inclosing to me copies of his Majesty's speech, and of the resolutions of both Houses of Parliament, which are equally approved and admired here.

3*rd December.*—The King of Prussia returned from

[8] Not legible. [9] MS. at Fintray House.

Freyberg a little before mid-day, and General Hulsen, with his corps, continues at that place. I am informed there is still a body of Austrians at *Frauenstein*, and also that they keep possession of *Dippolswalda*, though they have hitherto made no attempt to dislodge General Hulsen.

Whilst his Prussian Majesty was at dinner, General Diercke (who occupied a strong post on the right of the *Elbe*, opposite to *Meissen*) sent notice that he apprehended being attacked, and that the enemy had already pushed a strong body of cavalry to cut off his retreat towards *Torgau*. The King of Prussia immediately said, Why did not Diercke retire? The order I gave was not to wait to be attacked, but to withdraw upon the first approach of the enemy. He then gave directions to succour that corps in their retreat to *Meissen*.

The troops General Diercke had under his command consisted of seven bataillons infantry and one thousand cavalry, and the post he occupied was so advantageous, that he thought his retreat to *Meissen* absolutely secure, especially as he had been assured by the pontoneers that they could lay a bridge over the *Elbe* in a few hours (for they had been obliged, during the hard frost, to withdraw the bridge of boats they had over that river, and the wooden bridge at *Meissen* had been broke down by the Austrians); but when they attempted to lay a bridge of pontons, it was found impracticable, because of the great quantity of ice floating in the river. He was therefore reduced to the necessity of making

use of the boats to carry over his cavalry and part of his infantry, which took up a great deal of time, whilst he himself, with three bataillons, formed the rear-guard.

During the night between the 3rd and 4th, General Diercke found means to transport to *Meissen* all his cavalry, with four bataillons of infantry; but towards the morning of the 4th, he was attacked, and, after a very brave defence, the three bataillons that formed the rear-guard, being overpowered with numbers, were either killed or made prisoners. I hear the General fell in the action. He is very much regretted, and was esteemed a very brave and gallant officer.

I am informed that the troops that were saved, as well cavalry as infantry, marched directly to *Torgau*, to strengthen the garrison in that place, as it is apprehended the Austrians may have a design upon it.

5th.—I am told that General Diercke was not killed in the action of yesterday, but is wounded and a prisoner. Some part of the three bataillons that formed the rear-guard, found means to get over the *Elbe*, so that the loss of men is not so great as was imagined, but every loss, in the present circumstances, is considerable.

The two armies remain in their respective situations, as described in my former letters; but it is reported this day that the whole, or at least the greatest part, of the second line of the Austrians is marched to *Dippolswalda*, from which it is concluded that they mean to attack General Hulsen at *Freyberg*.

It is reckoned that the infantry as well as the cavalry of General Diercke's corps have arrived at *Torgau*, from which place there are yet no bad accounts.

6th.—This morning, at seven o'clock, the King of Prussia set out for *Freyberg*, and I hear the *gens d'armes* and the *gardes du corps* have also marched that way. His Royal Highness Prince Henry commands in the King's absence, and the Margrave Charles likewise remains here.

I am informed that in the night the Austrians from the opposite side of the *Elbe* set fire by their *haubitz* to the little town of *Reissa*, which is situated between *Strehla* and *Meissin*, on the left of the river, and it is said that part of the town is burnt. The Prussians had nothing there but a small quantity of hay ; the *Boulangerie*, &c., having some time ago been removed from thence to *Meissen*.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Private and secret.

Head Quarter at Willsdruff,
Thursday, 6th December, 1759.

MY LORD,

Our situation here is as bad as can be imagined. If we should be obliged to retire, the enemy will probably follow, and we shall lose ground without gaining security. By our retreat, they will facilitate their sub-

sistence, and consequently be enabled to profit more of the advantages they have over us.

As the only standing bridge upon the *Elbe* is at *Torgau*, I cannot help fearing that the enemy may attempt to destroy it. If they should, this army may be effectually prevented from sending timely succour to *Berlin*, in case the Austrians should think fit to march troops that way, which is but too probable they may do in the present embarrassed situation. I flatter myself, however, that his Prussian Majesty has given orders to the small corps of troops he drew out of Silesia to march directly to *Berlin*, but of this I am not certain.

I see the King of Prussia every day and for hours together, but it is with the deepest concern I inform your Lordship, that during all our former misfortunes I have never seen him so much affected and depressed. He told me yesterday of his intended expedition to *Freyberg*, the keeping of which post he thinks of the utmost importance, as he believes the Austrians cannot long subsist in the narrow district they possess, especially if the communication with Bohemia should be rendered more difficult by the fall of snow in the mountains. At the same time his Prussian Majesty candidly owned that if he failed in preserving *Freyberg*, he was really at a loss what to do; but he is resolved to keep a good countenance to the last, by which I hope he will add one wonder more to the many he has already done upon the same principle.

The King of Prussia told me that he had just received a courier from Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, acquaint-

ing him that the hereditary Prince was sent with a large detachment against the Duke of Würtemberg, and that he afterwards was to march into Saxony. If we can but keep our ground till he arrives, all may still be well.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

CHAPTER XIII.

DISPATCHES AND CORRESPONDENCE—CAMPAIGNS, 1760, 1761—MITCHELL'S CONVERSATIONS WITH FREDERIC AT FREYBERG—MITCHELL'S ADVENTURE DURING THE BATTLE OF LIEGNITZ—HIS ESCORT BEING ATTACKED BY A MUCH SUPERIOR FORCE—BATTLE OF LIEGNITZ—FREDERIC'S REMARKS THEREON TO MITCHELL—FREDERIC'S REAL OPINION OF VOLTAIRE—LORD HOLDERNESSE AND DUKE OF NEWCASTLE—"HIS NAME IS PERFIDY"—PLOT OF WARGOTSCH.

THE dispatches that next follow are selected for publication here as throwing light at the same time on the character of Frederic, and on the peculiar tact with which Mitchell discharged his diplomatic duties without compromising his own sense of what was due to truth and honesty. Many of the letters and dispatches in this chapter will also, it is hoped, be found interesting, from the adventures, incidents, and anecdotes related in them. For it must be remembered that the life they led was, as the King himself expressed it, more vagrant and more adventurous than that of the Wandering Jew. "For these last six years," says Frederic, in one of his letters to the Marquis d'Argens, "we have been running about the world like strolling players, performing our bloody tragedies wherever our enemies allow us to set up our stage. The Wandering Jew, if he ever existed, did not lead such a vagrant life as mine."

The character of this wonderful man, with its strong

contrasts of light and dark, of talents and vices, of genius and infirmities, of the sublime both in doing and suffering, from which some would say that he took that one step which leads to the ridiculous, will ever be a subject of the highest interest to the student of human nature. The point of Frederic's character at which, according to some, the sublime and the ridiculous meet, is that in which he differs from all the men of his class, ancient or modern, as far as we have evidence to judge; namely, the strange delight he took in the short intervals he could snatch, in the midst of that turbulent and perilous life, in writing sheets on sheets of verses, of which it is perhaps hardly a correct character to say that they were bad, but which might be more correctly described as "so middling; bad were better." The all-accomplished Julius Cæsar is said to have written poems as well as history and philosophy; but they have not come down to us; and Cæsar had never such adversity as Frederic, to need to seek refuge from in writing verses. We have already quoted the epigrammatic description of Frederic bearing up against a world in arms, with a dose of corrosive sublimate in one pocket, and a quire of bad verses in the other. The figure, if bold, does not overstep the truth. The poison which the King carried about him, consisting of five or six pills in a narrow glass-tube, was found still unpacked after his death. The calmness and presence of mind which were necessary to write so many even bad verses, under such circumstances, were indeed wonderful. The dates

of many of these lucubrations indicate that they were written when his fortunes were at the darkest. Thus, his Discourse of the Emperor Otho to his friends after the loss of the battle of Bedriacum, has at the end the words, "Fait à Strehlen, le 1 Decembre, 1761;" and his epistle, in verse, to Mitchell, on the origin of evil, is dated at Breslau the 28th of December, 1761. Let the reader picture to himself seated writing verse at a table littered with papers, if not exactly in "the worst inn's worst room," in a small indifferent room of a small indifferent house, in the vicinity of the small obscure town of Strehlen in Silesia, on the evening of the 1st of December, 1761, the night on which he was to have been seized by the Austrians if the plot of Wargotsch had succeeded (of which the reader will find an account towards the end of this chapter in Mitchell's despatch of 12th December, 1761), a little man in a blue coat, lined and faced with red, of rather coarse cloth, and patched in several places in a not very workman-like manner; yellow waistcoat and breeches much the worse for wear; large military boots, without spurs, very brown in colour, and by no means very elegant in shape; and a small rapier of the plainest description; while a large but very plain and shabby cocked hat lies near him;—and he will have some idea of the appearance and leisure hours' occupation, or amusement, of the man who might, without much exaggeration, be said to have shaken the world, and against whom some three-fourths of Europe were then waging a fierce and exterminating war. According to common

notions, the man's character and occupation, as then and there noted, are in strange contrast. But this was his amusement, his consolation; and even with him, as it has been with men of lowlier and less turbulent life, it was its own exceeding great reward. Long years after this, when he had weathered that terrific tempest, in the calm evening of that stormy life, when he was drawing peacefully to his end, he declared, that as literature had been his first passion and delight, so it would be his last.

Even Voltaire admits that Frederic's perseverance in writing verses under such circumstances as he wrote them, evinced a wonderful power which the mind had acquired over external things. He also admits, that among the many bad verses, there are some good. And indeed such lines as the following, though they may be very far from deserving to be compared, as they have been by some French critics, to the best of Corneille, seem to deserve a somewhat higher place than other critics have bestowed on them :

"Ainsi la fortune volage
N'a jamais causé mes ennuis;
Soit qu'elle me flatte ou m' outrage,
Je dormirai toutes les nuits,
En lui refusant mon hommage.
Mais notre état fait notre loi;
Il nous oblige, il nous engage
A mesurer notre courage,
Sur ce qu'exige notre emploi.
* * *
Pour moi, menacé du naufrage,
Je dois, en affrontant l'orage,
Penser, vivre, et mourir en roi." [1]

[1] These verses are in a letter to Voltaire, of the 9th October, 1757, twenty-seven days before the battle of Rosbach. Voltaire says of them in his "Mémoires:

The lines which a better poet than the great Prussian warrior and legislator has applied to Charles the Twelfth of Sweden after the battle of Pultawa, may with truth be applied to Frederic :

> " Through all
> King-like the monarch bore his fall ;
> And made, in this extreme of ill,
> His pangs the vassals of his will ;
> All silent and subdued were they,
> As once the nations round him lay."

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Most secret.

Freyberg, Wednesday, 16th January, 1760.

My Lord,

I propose in this to give your Lordship an account of what has passed in the conversations I have had with the King of Prussia since my arrival here.

When I communicated the contents of Mr. Keith's letters from *Petersbourg* of the 15th of December, I perceived that his Prussian Majesty was very much struck with the news, for he had certainly imagined that the answer from that Court would have been of quite a different nature. He endeavoured immediately to recover himself, and to conceal from me his surprise, but still I could see that it had made an impression.

" La lettre qu'il m'écrivit témoignait les mêmes sentimens ; mais il y avait moins de myrtes et de roses, et d'Ixion et de douleur profonde. . . . sa lettre finissait par des vers plus dignes de sa situation, de sa dignité, de son courage, et de son esprit." The author of the historical Commentary on Voltaire says, " Rien n'est plus beau que ces derniers vers ; rien n'est plus grand. Corneille dans son beau temps ne les eût pas mieux faits. Et quand après de tels vers on gagne une bataille, le sublime ne peut aller plus loin."

The King of Prussia gave me no directions to send to Mr. Keith, and made this single observation, that if the favourite Showallow was so entirely devoted to the French interest, as Mr. Keith represented him to be, it was in the power of France to draw off Russia from the alliance, and he hoped that this would be attended to, in case France was in a humour to treat.

He then touched, but in very general terms, upon the present critical situation, and said, that a few days before he had sent an account of it into England; but as he entered no farther into this subject, I did not think proper to continue the conversation, nor to shew any curiosity to know the particulars of what he had wrote to England.

After talking of various matters, his Prussian Majesty told me that, by the accounts he had from *Paris*, the affairs of France were in the utmost distress and confusion, but he does, by no means, think that the French are so exhausted as not to be able to find funds to carry on the war. He seems, however, to believe that France wishes for peace, and he added, that by the information he had from that country, they would be willing to purchase it with the loss of *Canada*.

In an audience I had of the King of Prussia two days after, I laid before him the papers transmitted to me in your Lordship's letter of the 21st of December, concerning the Spanish minister's memorial, and the answer given to it by the King's direction, which he said was wise and spirited; but he owned that the step

the King of Spain had taken gave just ground of jealousy, and too much reason to suspect that the French influence was growing at that Court; he said he knew they had all hands at work to draw in his Catholick Majesty to take a part in the present war, that they had prevailed with the King of Poland to write to his daughter, Queen of Spain, upon this point, and particularly to make her diffident of Mr. Wall, whose credit at that Court gives the greatest umbrage to the French. He concluded with saying that he thought our connection with Spain of the greatest consequence in the present conjuncture, and that he hoped the most serious attention would be given to it. I took the liberty to assure the King of Prussia that his Majesty's ministers had done, and would continue to do, everything that was possible to preserve harmony and good understanding between the two Courts.

In a third conversation I had with the King of Prussia, he told me he was assured that France was willing to treat separately. I answered I was most heartily glad of the news, but that I had not received the most distant hint of it from any quarter. He replyed that the Duke d'Aiguillon, who was to have commanded the expedition for invading of England, had been provided with a full power for that purpose, in case the expedition had taken place; that after the defeat of the French fleet, the Duke d'Aiguillon had seen Admiral Hawke or one of his principal officers, and had proposed to treat separately without the formality of opening a congress. He added, he knew at this time that the Court of

Versailles were very much dissatisfied with the Court of Vienna.

I took the liberty to observe, that if any such proposal had been made by the French, his Majesty's ministers would not have failed to communicate the same in the most expeditious manner to his Prussian Majesty; that I had indeed read in one of the Dutch newspapers an account of an entertainment given by Admiral Hawke to the Duke d'Aiguillon, which might possibly have given rise to the report of a separate treaty; but the King of Prussia seemed still to think there was more in it, so I insisted no farther.

I cannot refrain on this occasion from making one remark confirmed by numberless examples, which is, that the King of Prussia, amidst all his great and superior qualities, and with the most penetrating understanding, is, by no means, exempted from the common weakness of humanity of believing with wonderfull facility whatever is agreeable, and with the greatest difficulty whatever is contrary to his wishes or interest.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Private and very secret.

Freyberg, Wednesday, 16th January, 1760.

MY LORD,

As the King of Prussia has not yet been pleased to open himself to me upon the present state of the army, it is impossible to write with any tolerable degree

of precision upon it. I am endeavouring, however, to get the best information I can, but that will require time, and is attended with many difficulties, whilst the army is dispersed in their scattered quarters of cantonment.

I am informed, that some time ago, orders have been issued, and officers sent into different provinces, for recruiting and compleating the army; and it is pretended that this will be done before the end of the month of March. The men, it is said, will be raised in those parts of his Prussian Majesty's dominions which have been the least exhausted by the war.

After a campaign of ten months, in which two battles have been lost, the troops extremely fatigued and harrassed by long marches and severe duty, in a season almost irresistible to humanity, and after the loss of twenty-one bataillons and thirty-five squadrons in the unhappy affair of Fink and Diercke, I cannot help observing to your Lordship, that it does not appear probable that even this army will be in a good condition in the spring, and much less that his Prussian Majesty can be able to bring two armies into the field by that time; which, however, are absolutely necessary.

The King of Prussia will do every thing that man can do, but his country is exhausted, instruments of action are wanting, his best officers are either killed or prisoners; and it is with the deepest concern I am forced to own, that a general discouragement reigns through the whole army, from the fatal influence of which

his Prussian Majesty is perhaps the only person exempted.

It is needless to say any thing of the force and inveteracy of the Austrians and Russians, as both must be well known to your Lordship, nor what their plan of operations would be in case they should be able to crush the King of Prussia; but I cannot help adding, according to the imperfect notions I have of the present state of Europe, that if England does not find means to detach France very soon from the alliance, and so to curb the power of Russia, the only opportunity of effectually saving the King of Prussia will, I fear, be irretrievably lost.

Your Lordship will pardon the liberty I have taken in this free and confidential letter of offering an opinion in a matter of so high importance. My duty to the King obliges me to write what I see and feel; but if, by the unhappy situation I have long been in, things should have appeared to me in a false light, or made too deep an impression, your Lordship's candour and generosity will improve even my weaknesses for his Majesty's service.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

The Earl of Holdernesse to Mr. Mitchell.

Arlington Street, Jan. 25th, 1760.

DEAR MITCHELL,

I hope, by this time, you are enjoying a little rest after the long fatigues and anxious situations you

have found yourself in this long campaign; not that I suppose you yet free from anxiety. I imagine the result of your conference with his Prussian Majesty will give you occasion to dispatch a messenger to England, who is probably by this time upon the road. I reckon we shall learn from you pretty much the same things that the Prussian Ministers here have been ordered to say in the name of their master, but with more particulars; however, as time presses, we thought it right to lose no time, and, as our deliberations were reduced into a narrow compass, they were soon digested and converted, and quickly carried into execution. I heartily wish the expedient proposed may have the desired effect. The King of Prussia's danger is imminent and immediate, and, as we cannot efficaciously defend him, we had rather he should find relief from our enemy than be ruined. Any regret at some things that are passed would carry an air of reproach; they are dropped and forgot, and I perswade myself that the King of Prussia, from his magnanimity, will think our conduct towards him generous.

It is certainly not the interest of France that the King of Prussia should be overrun, but they are of late guided so much more by passion than by prudence, that I don't know what to guess; but the worst is that, whatever their inclination may be, it is to be doubted whether they can influence their allies, and force them to an accommodation; for we know, beyond a doubt, that the Court of Vienna moves heaven and earth to prevent a pacification; and you see, by Keith's last

dispatch, how little we have to hope for from Russia. In short, I own I see things gloomily, though I still hope the best.

I shall say nothing of myself at present, but that I gall in the harness, and wish to be out of the set, tho' I won't kick, if I can possibly help it, while the war lasts.

Lady H— desires her kindest compliments to you. I have another little lady in the house, that would say something civil, if she knew how truly her father esteems and loves you, and how affectionately he is,

Dear Mitchell,

Your ever faithfull humble servant,

HOLDERNESSE.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Head Quarter at Freyberg, Sunday, 3rd February, 1760.

MY LORD,

I wrote to your Lordship, by post, the 39th of last month, and I have no letter from England since the 21st of December.

Nothing of any sort has happened here or at *Wills-druff.* I am informed that General Fouquet with a detachment from Silesia was two days ago at *Lauban;* and it is thought he will join the corps commanded by General Schmettau, which is now at *Görlitz.* The Austrians are in possession of *Budissin,* and General Beck still continues at *Grossen-Hayn;* whether General Fouquet may attempt to dislodge them, is what I do not with any certainty know.

Major-General Czettritz, with a strong detachment of Prussian cavalry, &c., has been some time at *Cosdorff*, on the other side of the *Elbe*, about two miles from *Torgau*,—as is supposed, to watch the motions of General Beck. There is likewise a small detachment of Prussians at *Naumburg*, upon the *Laal*, to prevent the flying parties of the enemy from taking possession of that town, and to get intelligence of what is passing in *Thuringia*.

Though the snow is mostly melted, it begins again to freeze, but I hear the river *Elbe* is, by the last thaw, cleared of ice, which will greatly facilitate the carrying of forrage and provisions to the Austrian army about *Dresden*, where, it is said, they were very much wanted.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Private and very secret.

Head Quarter at Freyberg,
Tuesday, 12th February, 1760.

MY LORD,

I mentioned in my secret letter to your Lordship of this date, that the King of Prussia, when I communicated to him the contents of your Lordship's dispatch of the 25th January, entered into no detail with regard to his own situation ; but since having had the honour to dine with him several times *tête à tête*, and to sit very long at table, I endeavoured to turn the conversation upon such points as I wanted to be informed of, without, however, shewing an undue curiosity.

His Prussian Majesty reckons that the whole force to be employed against him in the next campaign, including the armies of Austria, Russia, Sweden, and the Empire, may amount to two hundred and thirty thousand men, to which he can oppose in the field ninety thousand. The disparity of numbers is great, but he does not despair of success, especially if the Court of Vienna should push their General (who is naturally slow) to attempt something early in the spring; but if that Court should chuse to continue on a cautious plan, and delay acting till the end of June or beginning of July (by which time the Russians may be in a condition to advance), he foresees that he may be exposed to the greatest difficulties and hazards.

As the King of Prussia is reduced to the fatal necessity of depending upon the faults and blunders of his enemies (of which indeed there has been great store), his project, as far as I could gather it, is to assemble his army about the 20th of next month, to chuse a strong post towards the *Elbe*, which will secure their subsistence, and to continue to act as long as possible upon the defensive. He is sensible that the enemy will endeavour to profit of their superiority of numbers, and oblige him to make detachments; but what he chiefly fears is the fate of those detachments. This apprehension is but too well founded, as his army does not abound with Generals capable to command detachments, and to act of themselves without directions, as circumstances may require.

The force of the army here and at *Willsdruff* the King of Prussia computes at fifty-eight thousand men, so there would remain thirty-two thousand for the army in Silesia, and that against the Swedes; but, in a subsequent conversation, his Prussian Majesty reckoned the army in Silesia at almost fifty bataillons and sixty-four squadrons, and six thousand men employed against the Swedes. This does by no means agree with the numbers given, but, taking the medium of the difference between the two accounts, I think the number in the field may amount to upwards of one hundred thousand men, besides which his Prussian Majesty says there are in the garrisons of Silesia, Pomerania, &c., &c., about forty bataillons.

The King of Prussia assured me the army was recruited and would be compleat; that even the twenty-one bataillons lost at *Maxen* and on the banks of the *Elbe* were already almost replaced, that he had been enabled to do this partly by the number of officers and men wounded in the two battles of last summer, who are now recovered and fit for service, and partly from the number of soldiers who had saved themselves and returned after the unhappy affair of *Maxen;* that for the cavalry lost on that occasion, though he could not restore them in corps, he had endeavoured to supply that defect by new levies of squadrons to be added to other regiments.

As to the artillery, he told me it would be as numerous as last year, and that he had left forty or fifty pieces which he could not possibly carry into the

field. This, I confess, surprised me after the immense loss of artillery in the last campaign.

With regard to magazines he entered into no detail, but said in general, that he had done his utmost to have them filled and provided in the best manner; but I believe the subsistence of the army in Saxony must, in a great measure, depend upon his Prussian Majesty's remaining master of the navigation of the *Elbe*.

The King of Prussia owned with great candour that he was sensible the army he had was not equal in goodness to what he had brought into the field the former years; that one part of his troops were fit only to be shewn at a distance to the enemy,—if possible, to impose upon them, that the other part were discouraged and dispirited by the memory of the misfortunes of the last campaign, but that he would endeavour, by degrees, to bring them back to their former firmness and intrepidity.

He told me, by way of news, that he heard General Laudon was to be detached with twenty-five thousand men from the Austrian army to join with the army of the empire, which is reckoned at fifteen thousand, who are intended to make an invasion into Saxony on the side of *Leipzig*. Of this he said he had informed the hereditary Prince and Prince Ferdinand, with whom it was absolutely necessary to act in concert. He added, that he heard the Empress Queen had demanded of the Court of France, soon after the march of the hereditary Prince, that Marshal Broglio should himself advance towards Saxony at the head of forty thousand French.

I found his Prussian Majesty still thinks that France is inclined to treat for a separate peace, and he wished the negociator the King shall think proper to employ might be as superior to the French as his Majesty's Admirals and Generals had hitherto been ; which, however, he observed, had never been the case in any treaty which England had made with France.

When I hinted to the King of Prussia, that perhaps the connections he had at the Court of France might be able to give more certain intelligence of the real intentions of that Court, than any the King, my master, could procure in the present situation of affairs, he answered, he should fairly communicate every thing he could learn, but that the Court of Versailles was at present entirely governed by caprice and resentment ; that the Dauphiness and Madame de Pompadour were at the head of the intrigue ; that the Duke de Choiseul was entirely Austrian, and Marshal Belleisle was superannuated.

The King of Poland's firm adherence to his allies, and the deplorable state of the Elector of Saxony being mentioned, I happened to say that I feared this would be a subject of much altercation at any future Congress for treating of a general peace, the King of Prussia answered, he had thought of that, and had proposed the cession of the territory of Erfurth (which formerly belonged to the Electors of Saxony) as an indemnification for the King of Poland.

In the last conversation I had with the King of Prussia, he told me that he had received a letter from

King Stanislaus, forwarded by the French ministers, in which that Prince proposed the town of *Nancy*, as a proper place for holding the Congress. His Prussian Majesty said, it was equal to him where it was held, but that this letter seemed to confirm a piece of intelligence which he thought of much importance, and would communicate, but at the same time recommended to me absolute secrecy; adding, that he believed my Court was by this time informed of it.

The substance of the intelligence alluded to is, that some time ago a Council was held at Versailles, in which the Prince de Soubise and Marshal Belleisle declared strongly for peace; that at last the French King came into their opinion, and that the result of this Council was immediately communicated to the Court of Vienna.

His Prussian Majesty mentioned another thing that gives me real concern, which is, that the Russians were to detach twenty thousand men under the command of Count Romanzow to act immediately on the side of Silesia, (perhaps to attempt the siege of *Glogau*,) that their light troops had already begun to shew themselves on the frontiers, and that he was at present occupied in concerting proper measures to oppose them.

In talking of the hereditary Prince of Brunswick, after commending the modesty and decency of his behaviour, the King of Prussia said, he was surprised with the knowledge he had acquired, and added these remarkable words: *Il a le jugement et le bon sens d'un homme de quarante ans, et il a fait tant de progrès dans*

la science militaire que je pourrois lui confier le commandement de mes armées.

I have in this letter acquainted your Lordship with such parts of the private conversations I have had with his Prussian Majesty as relate to publick affairs, but at the same time I must entreat you will consider everything I have said as mere table-talk, without precision, and in the reporting of which I may have made mistakes, particularly with regard to numbers, having no other guide but my memory. I thought it, however, worth while to transmit to your Lordship the substance of these conversations, as it may be of use to compare them with the accounts the Prussian ministers at London have given of their master's situation.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Head-quarter at Freyberg,
Wednesday, 27th February, 1760.

MY LORD,

Since my last, to your Lordship, of the 24th, there are no letters from England, and nothing of any sort has happened here.

This day the King of Prussia told me that a party of Cossacks had carried off the Margrave of Schwedt, and the Duke Frederick of Würtemberg, who were both at *Schwedt* upon the *Oder*, distant about thirteen German miles from *Berlin* and seven from *Stettin*, but that they had found means to get out of their hands.

I hear from another quarter that the means they found to get off were, the Margrave gave a note for twenty thousand crowns, and the Duke of Wurtemberg, whose wound is not yet cured, gave a revers, acknowledging himself a prisoner of war, and that, after being carried about two miles from *Schwedt*, they were permitted to return.

There are reports (but which seem to want farther confirmation) that the Austrians are marching troops through Bohemia towards the higher Silesia.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Private and most secret.

Head Quarter at Freyberg,
Sunday, 2nd March, 1760.

MY LORD,

Yesterday his Prussian Majesty sent Mr. Eichel to me to communicate a letter just then received from *Hamburg*, wrote by Baron Bielfeld to his Royal Highness Prince Henry of Prussia, and by him transmitted to the King his brother.

Before I give your Lordship the substance of this letter, it is necessary that I should inform you of all I know concerning Baron Bielfeld. He is the son of a Hamburg merchant, was created Baron by the King of Prussia, and was preceptor to Prince Henry and Prince Ferdinand of Prussia, with whom he has continued to correspond since he retired to *Hamburg*. I hear he is an honest man, and a speculative politician, having

lately published two volumes in quarto upon that subject, which I have not read.

The project contained in the letter arose from several conversations which Bielfeld had with Baron de Rangstoed, envoy from the great Duke of Russia to the Circle of Lower Saxony, and is as follows; that an emissary should be immediately sent by the King of Prussia to the Court of Petersbourg with power to dispose of one million of crowns.

It is Rangstoed's opinion that that Court is to be bought; that his master, the great Duke, is warm in the King of Prussia's interest, and would perhaps, if properly seconded, become, underhand, the first negociator for his Prussian Majesty at Petersbourg; that the Empress of Russia had herself been drawn into the war, and continued in it against her will; that the Russian troops had hitherto acted because the Imperial and French ambassadors had spent money liberally; that now, these sources being exhausted, he (Rangstoed) thought that a million of crowns, well applyed, could not fail of success, but that the English Minister was not the proper person to distribute this sum, being himself narrowly watched and observed at Petersbourg, though it might be very fit that the emissary should have no power to dispose of the money without the approbation and direction of Mr. Keith.

The person proposed to be employed as emissary is Colonel Pechlin, son of the Privy-Counsellor Pechlin, who was prime minister to the great Duke, and attended him to Petersbourg. Bielfeld and Rangstoed

both give the Colonel a good character, as well for his capacity as for his knowledge of the Court of Russia. He is entirely attached to the great Duke, and was formerly in his service.

As no emissary can act without money, it is proposed that he should immediately receive four thousand ducats for the expence of his journey and to enable him to appear suitably at Petersbourg, to which his Prussian Majesty has agreed, with the restriction above-mentioned as to the million, and I am desired by the King of Prussia to write to Mr. Keith to have an eye over the emissary, and shall not fail to send your Lordship a copy of my letter so soon as I have received his Prussian Majesty's instructions upon that head.

Bielfeld gives a very high character of Rangstoed, says he is in the confidence of the great Duke, and thinks he would not have made this overture without an order from his master.

His Prussian Majesty was pleased to ask what I thought of Bielfeld's letter. I answered that as the characters of the persons mentioned in it were equally unknown to me, I was unable to form any judgment; that a million was a very large sum; that I had not a very high opinion of the great Duke's interest, nor of his conduct at the Court of Russia; and I then acquainted him with the contents of the extracts of Mr. Keith's letter of the 12th February to your Lordship, which I had that day received. The King of Prussia answered, he was not free from doubts, but he thought it worth while to venture the four thousand ducats.

I trouble your Lordship with no reflections, but beg you will cast an eye on my letter to your Lordship of the 16th of November last as a convincing proof how circumstances and situations operate upon a great mind.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Head Quarter at Freyberg,
Sunday, 9th March, 1760.

MY LORD,

I wrote to your Lordship the 5th by post, and I have no letter from England since the 1st of February last.

The armies continue still in their respective quarters of cantonment, and I do not hear of any movement yet made by either side, but this tranquility will be of very short duration, as the season advances apace.

Some time ago engineers were sent to *Torgau* and *Wittemberg* to put those places in as good a posture of defence as time and circumstances will admit of.

I am informed that the Prussians in order to fill the magazines of *Leipzig*, *Torgau*, *Wittemberg*, and *Nossen*, *&c.*, have sent parties not only through Saxony and into Thuringia, but even as far as the bishoprick of Hildesheim, which is about two hundred English miles distant from hence, to raise contributions and bring in forrage, by which this whole tract of country must be reduced to a most miserable situation; and I am told many of the farmers are so totally ruined

that they have not where withall left to labour or sow their land. If either Marshal Daun's army or that of the Empire should advance in Saxony, how they can be subsisted is to me a mystery, unless they are able to bring along with them their own subsistence.

The regiments that were raised to reimplace the corps of General Fink are already so far compleated that some of them are actually marched into the *nouvelle marche* of Brandenbourg, to protect that country from the incursions of the Cossacks and the plundering of General Totleben.

The officer of the Cossacks that exacted a note of twenty thousand crowns from the Margrave of Schwedt and a *Revers* from the Duke of Würtemberg, was attacked and made prisoner near *Piritz*, with about forty of his men, by a small party of Prussian provincial hussars, and it is said they have had the good fortune to recover both the note and the revers.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to Mr. Mackenzie at Turin.

4°.

Freyberg, Friday, 14*th March,* 1760.

SIR,

Having had nothing comfortable to write, I have been silent, and I write this chiefly to inform you of our present situation.

Since the unhappy affair of Maxen in the month of November last, by which his Prussian Majesty lost about

fourteen thousand men and nine general officers, the army has continued in quarters of cantonment, extending from *Meissen*, upon the *Elbe*, to this place, upwards of twenty English miles; the Austrians continue in possession of *Dresden*, in very confined quarters, and nothing has been attempted on either side worth mentioning.

The King of Prussia has, in the mean time, recruited and compleated his army in Saxony, which I reckon about sixty thousand men, besides garrisons; he has likewise replaced the corps which was lost by General Fink at *Maxen*, and I am informed that the army in Silesia will be from forty-five to fifty thousand strong; besides this, there is a corps of six thousand men employed against the Swedes. This is pretty nearly the whole force his Prussian Majesty can bring into the field this campaign, for I do not reckon the garrisons in Silesia, Brandenburg, or Pomerania, which, together, may amount to forty bataillons.

This force, however considerable, is greatly inferior to the powers of Austria and Russia united; I am, therefore, under great anxiety for the event of the next campaign. My comfort is in the genius of the King of Prussia, which seems to rise and extend itself in proportion to the obstacles and difficulties it meets with, and, if we can but profit of past experience, I do not at all despair that things may go well, notwithstanding the great disparity of numbers.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Head Quarter at Freyberg,
Sunday, 16th March, 1760.

My Lord,

Since my last to your Lordship of the 12th, there are no letters from England. It has rained excessively here for some days past, which, I am informed, has rendered the roads almost impracticable.

The armies continue in their respective quarters of cantonment, and have yet made no movement of any sort. I hear that General Beck, who commands a separate corps on the right of the *Elbe*, near *Grossen-Hayn*, intends to make a new attempt on the side of *Torgau*, but, as his design is discovered, I hope it will prove ineffectual.

This day, the Queen of Prussia and the rest of the Royal Family left *Berlin*, and are to reside at *Magdeburg*, where they will be free from all sudden alarms of flying parties; Berlin being an open place, and of a very large extent, without defence;—that the Royal Family remaining longer there, might serve to draw some adventurous partisan that way, even before the season could permit of the march of any considerable body of troops.

I am informed that all the regiments of infantry in this army are now actually compleated, and the recruits are daily exercised. The King of Prussia is in perfect good health, though he has never once been out of the house since he came [to this] town. His occupations are

as painfull and labourious as can well be imagined; for he looks into every thing himself, and the whole detail of whatever concerns the army and its subsistence passes through his hands.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Separate, and most secret.

Head Quarter at Freyberg,
Wednesday, 19th March, 1760.

MY LORD,

The inclosed copy of my letter to Mr. Keith will inform your Lordship of everything that has passed concerning Colonel Pechlin, who, I hear by this time, is set out for Petersbourg by the way of Sweden, and it is reckoned he may be there in about four weeks hence.

As I have yet received no farther instructions from the King of Prussia to be transmitted to Mr. Keith, I shall be anxious to know whether those I have sent are approved of by His Majesty. I cannot help saying that I look upon this whole affair as a wild scheme of a needy projector who wanted to go to Petersbourg at the expence of his Prussian Majesty.

What are the contents of the dispatch that this Prussian messenger carries, I have no opportunity of knowing; and I think it necessary once for all to declare that I shall omit no occasion of acquainting your Lordship with the most minute and trifling

circumstances that come to my knowledge; but the difficulty of getting intelligence of any sort is such that I can answer for nothing; and even with regard to what passes in the army I am sensible my accounts must be very lame and imperfect; but your Lordship will consider there is nobody here can inform me, as the reports are made directly to the King of Prussia, who, like other princes, does not like to talk of disagreeable subjects, nor does the indulgence he has to me permit me to bring them upon the carpet.

I have seen another letter from Monsieur De Hellen, giving an account of General Yorke's conversation with the French Ambassador of the 4th instant, which contains a précis of General Yorke's letter to your Lordship, and I find his Prussian Majesty thinks now that the French are not sincere in their negociation for peace; the fetch about the mediation of Spain, he thinks, is meant to cover something else; that perhaps they have an eye upon the Netherlands as an establishment for Don Philip, though they have not yet thought proper to speak out upon that point.

His Prussian Majesty told me this day that he heard the French had not yet found the funds for the next campaign, and that their pecuniary affairs still continued in very great disorder.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Secret.

Head Quarter at Freyberg,
Thursday, 27th March, 1760.

My Lord,

Since I had the honour of your Lordship's dispatch, of the 4th, by Padmore, and of the 14th, by a Prussian courier, I have communicated the same to his Prussian Majesty, who is extremely pleased with these new marks of his Majesty's friendship and unreserved confidence; he said he would follow the King's example, and that his Majesty should find him as open and fair on his part.

The King of Prussia thinks that nothing certain can be concluded from all that has passed between General Yorke and the French ambassador to the 4th instant; but he added, he was in daily expectation of hearing something from France that might be depended upon; that he already had had accounts that the person sent from the Court of Gotha had been well received; that the Bailli de Froulay, immediately upon reading his letter, went to Versailles, and that he had promised to the emissary to procure him a permission for sending of expresses and couriers, and passports for himself to return, when it should be thought proper: he concluded with saying that so soon as he had any certain notice of what was passing at *Paris*, he would send a courier directly to England.

The King of Prussia was pleased then to give me some account of an extraordinary conversation which

Count St. Germain had had with General Yorke, on the 15th, at the Hague, the particulars of which need not be mentioned, as your Lordship will have them more authentically: he observed, that though the man and his manner were of the most uncommon kind, yet General Yorke had done right to give your Lordship an immediate account of what had passed; that it was very probable the Count may have been employed in this secret commission by the Marshal Belleisle, without the knowledge of the other French ministers, as the Cabinet is extremely divided. He asked me if I was acquainted with this St. Germain, who, as he was informed, had been some time in England; I answered, I had seen him there, but did not imagine he would ever become a negociator: his Prussian Majesty answered, that he heard this Count had found a way to insinuate himself into the good graces of the French King, whom he had amused with some experiments in chymistry, and that the French had made him a present of the *Chateau de Chamberd.*

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to Mr. Keith, at Petersbourg.

Most secret.

Head Quarter at Freyberg, Friday, 28th March, 1760.

SIR,

Inclosed is a copy of my letter of the 6th instant, of which a duplicate was sent by Warsaw. I hear Colonel Pechlin is set out for Petersbourg by way of

Denmark and Sweden, and I dispatch this messenger to you chiefly to convey a cypher for that gentleman, which you will deliver to him in the most secret manner. I forgot in my letter of the 6th to mention that Colonel Pechlin is born a subject of the great Duke's, his father having been Prime Minister to that Prince, and as such, it is hoped, his appearance at the Court of Petersbourg will not occasion suspicions.

It was proposed by Colonel Pechlin's friend that he should write his letters in your house, and leave his papers with you, both which propositions I opposed strenuously, as tending infallibly to discover the whole affair, and to expose you to inconveniences, and perhaps to an affront. It was likewise hinted, that he hoped, in case of necessity, your house would be an asylum to him; to which I answered, that I knew of no asylum against crimes of state; that his own prudent conduct would be his best security, though, at the same time, I was persuaded that you would give him all the assistance and protection in your power, without committing the dignity and character of a publick minister, and I insisted that Monsieur Pechlin should be particularly cautioned and instructed upon these points.

This is all that has passed concerning this affair, till two days ago that I was permitted to read the instructions given to Mr. Pechlin. They consist of seventeen articles, are very explicit and clear, and contain excellent rules for his conduct: though he is directed to communicate them to you, I think proper to acquaint you with the most material parts of them as exactly as

I can by memory, and the help of some short notes I took.

The object the King of Prussia has in view by this mission is, if possible, to make a peace upon honourable terms with the Court of Russia, but his Prussian Majesty will not hear of any cession ; the terms of reconciliation must be an amnesty of all that is passed, and that Russia shall not assist directly or indirectly the King of Prussia's enemies, and it is strongly recommended to Pechlin to endeavour to procure a cessation of hostilities during the negociation.

The means proposed to bring this about are by the friendship of the great Duke and Dutchess, whom, however, he is not to engage in this negociation so as to commit them at the Court of Russia, nor to manage it so as to hurt the King of Prussia's interest at that Court ; and, in order to purchase Ministers and favourites, Pechlin is empowered to spend one million crowns, in the doing of which he is to follow your advice, and to be open with you in everything relating to his commission, but he is directed to affect in publick a cold indifference towards you.

The rest of the instruction—prudential advices for Mr. Pechlin's conduct, not to appear like a minister but as a private gentleman, to address himself in particular to Woronzow and Schuwallow, to avoid giving much money to low people, and not even to be the dupe of the great, whose payment should go apace with their actions.

Then follow some political common-place arguments,

to shew the expediency to Russia of making peace with Prussia. If the negociation succeeds, it is expected that you may act with Pechlin more openly, who will then be authorised with proper powers; in the mean time he is directed, in case he is apprehensive of a discovery, to lodge his cypher and papers with you or to burn them.

This is the substance of the instructions given to Colonel Pechlin; what private instructions he may have received I have no opportunity of knowing. One thing gives me some opinion of his prudence and address, which is, that, just before he set out, he obtained from Count Finkenstein a letter directed to him, desiring that if he found a proper opportunity, he would, during his stay at Petersbourg, endeavour to reconcile that Court to Prussia, and this letter (to save him) the Count sent him without consulting the King of Prussia, which, however, has been since approved.

I come now to the most material point of all, which is, the money, and the only information I am able to give you is, that I am assured five hundred thousand crowns will immediately be remitted in bills of exchange upon Hamburg, Holland, and England, payable to your order, which you will return in case a proper opportunity of employing them should not occur, and the other five hundred thousand crowns will be remitted to you in the same manner, in case the negociation should succeed.

As the King of Prussia will naturally be anxious to know how this negociation is like to succeed, so soon as you see daylight into the affair, I hope you will dispatch

Cleverly, the bearer of this, to me, unless more urgent affairs should require his being sent directly to England, and in that case you will not fail to give me the earliest notice, by post or otherwise.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Secret.

Head Quarter at Freyberg,
Sunday, 30th March, 1760.

MY LORD,

Yesterday his Prussian Majesty said, that if I would dine with him, he had a great deal of news to tell me, the substance of which is as follows :—

The person sent from the Court of Gotha to Paris arrived here last night. He says the French are much disposed to hearken to terms of peace, but insisted on a dedommagement for the Elector of Saxony ; that so soon as the prelimenaries with England can be signed, they will withdraw their troops and cease acting offensively; that perhaps they may be obliged to furnish the succour of twenty-four thousand men stipulated by treaty, or the value in money, to the Empress Queen ; but it is not impossible that even this may be avoided, as the Imperial Court will certainly be much out of humour with that of France, upon the first news of their treating separately, and the insolence natural to the Imperial Court on such occasions may afford a pretence to the Court of Versailles to refuse or elude the giving of the succour stipulated.

The same gentleman says, that the French King, the Dauphin, the greatest part of the ministers, and even Madame de Pompadour are disposed to peace; that the people in general are extremely discontented, and declaim loudly against the authors of the alliance with the Court of Vienna; that Marshal Belleisle is very much hated, as the disgraces the French have suffered in the field are imputed to him; that there is a great jealousy between the Marshals Belleisle and Broglio, and it was even talked of recalling the last from the command of the army.

He likewise said, that if he had not been sent to Paris, the French were upon the point of sending a person to sound the King of Prussia; to which he was informed, the Duc de Choiseul had agreed. He says, the French took frequent occasions to assure him, that they were in no want of money, and that the funds for the next campaign were already provided, which, however, this gentleman does not believe.

The King of Prussia said that he intended in a few days to send this gentleman to England, to make the report to the King's Ministers of everything that had passed at Paris, and that, as he was provided with a passport from the Duke of Broglio, he might go directly from England to *Calais*, charged with such instructions as the King's ministers should think proper to give him.

As in this conversation his Prussian Majesty avoided naming the gentleman, and always, when he spoke of him, made use of these words, *Mon homme me dit*, I thought proper to shew no curiosity either to know his

name nor to see him, especially as I found that great care had been taken to keep him concealed in the most private manner since his arrival here.

Your Lordship will, no doubt, be informed of this gentleman's character from the Court of Gotha, to which he belongs, for I hear he is an entire stranger to the King of Prussia.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

The following letter is curious, and not unimportant, particularly as so much has been said of Frederic's overbearing demeanour, at times, in literary and philosophical discussion. Here is the testimony of one witness, and that a very credible one, directly the other way.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Private, per Lambe.

Freyberg, 30th March, 1760.

ABOUT a week ago, when I came to dine with the King of Prussia, I found a book laid upon the table, which, he told me, he intended for a present to me ; the title of it is, "Œuvres du Philosophe de Sans Souci." "He said it was of his writing, and had been the occupation of his leisure hours ; that it contained some imitations of Horace, Lucretius, and Ovid ; that he never intended it for the public, though a few copies of it had been thrown off in his own press at Potsdam, some of which he had given to particular friends, &c. ;

that lately the book had been surreptitiously published in France, and since in Holland, with a view to hurt him, but that he had not yet been able to discover who had been guilty of this breach of trust; that, in reprinting, several things were omitted, altered, or mangled, which laid him under the necessity of having it again printed more correctly and carefully; and he was pleased to add, that, so soon as the new edition was ready, he would give me a copy," which I shall not fail to send to your Lordship. In the mean time he desired me to read over that he gave me, and dropt a hint that he should be glad it was known in England "that this book had been published, not only without his consent, but against his will." This declaration I considered as a sort of apology for the book, and had nothing more at heart than to look into it immediately; but my curiosity had like to cost me dear, for the *Philosophe* the next day asked my opinion, and, observing that I was shy and reserved upon the point, pressed and encouraged me to speak freely, which I, not caring to dissemble, complyed with more easily, as there are really more things to be admired than blamed in the book. I praised with decency and without exaggeration, and blamed with freedom where I thought I was well-founded; and this has afforded matter of conversation for 5 or 6 days at table, when only his Majesty was present. The particulars are too minute to be transmitted, therefore I reserve them till I have the happiness to see you in England. It is but justice, however, to acquaint you that the King heard with candour and

with temper my trifling remarks, and, at the same time, to declare, that of all the authors I ever conversed with, the '*Philosophe de Sans Souci*' bears criticism the best.[1]

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Secret.

Head Quarter at Freyberg,
Sunday, 20th April, 1760.

My Lord,

I mentioned in my letter of the 16th that the King of Prussia having dispatched a courier to England on the 12th instant, had in a manner anticipated the answer to your Lordship's dispatches of the 28th March and 1st April. It remains, therefore, now only to give your Lordship an account of the conversations I have had with that monarch since the above-mentioned dispatches were received.

His Prussian Majesty thinks, from all the *pourparlers* of Messieurs d'Affry and St. Germain at the Hague with General Yorke, it appears plainly that the French Ministry are divided in opinion; some were for peace, and others for continuing the war; but that it was impossible to conclude, from all they had yet said, what part they would take, and whether the hints about peace were in earnest, or only thrown out to gain time. He said he was informed that the French were marching troops to reinforce Broglio's army; that, in this situation, he had thought proper to send by a special messenger into England his advice to the King's Ministers as to the proper means to be used to make the French speak

[1] MS. at Fintray House.

out without loss of time ; that, as their councils were indecisive and their ministry divided, the readiest way to clear up matters was for England to begin immediately to execute the projects she had formed against France, as well in Europe as elsewhere ; that the speedy and vigorous execution of these projects, and particularly the alarming their coasts at the same time with the apprehensions of descents, could not fail to raise great murmurings among the people (who were already tired of the war), and might strengthen the hands of those Ministers who were disposed to peace.

In the course of this conversation, his Prussian Majesty told me, that, in order to rouse the pride and vanity of the French Ministers, he had taken care to insinuate, by different channels, the poor and contemptible figure France made in the present war, in which they acted but a second and subaltern part, whilst the Court of Vienna guided and directed the whole ; that he flattered himself these insinuations might have some effect, and not fail of piquing their pride, as he knew, by long experience, that the national vanity of being thought the first and only great power in Europe was the ruling passion of all French Ministers.

I took the liberty to ask the King of Prussia if he had yet discovered the enemy's plan of operations for the ensuing campaign : he answered, he thought he had, but that he wanted sufficient force to prevent or disappoint their designs ; that without some favourable event, which might give a turn to affairs, he really did

not know what situation he should be in by the month of August next; and he added, he was sorry his present circumstances obliged him to recall his ten squadrons of dragoons which are now with his Majesty's army, but that he would leave the five squadrons of hussars: to this I only replied that I hoped he would not think of recalling these squadrons if it was possible to do without them, especially as the French were reinforcing Broglio's army.

Having just then received a letter from Mr. Keith, of the 25th of March, advising that General Fermor was recalled from the Russian army, and was to be re-implaced by General Brown; that the Russians were to act upon their own bottom without joining the Austrians; that it was thought they would begin their operations with the siege of *Colberg*, and that they were assembling a body of seven or eight thousand men to be sent by sea to the army, which they pretend will be near one hundred thousand strong,—I thought proper to communicate immediately this intelligence to his Prussian Majesty, who said he was sorry that Fermor was to be recalled, and that he believed Brown to be the best officer the Russians had. He then added, you see the necessity of sending a fleet into the Baltick: what can your people mean by *management* with the Russians? Pray mention it once more in your dispatch. This I promised to do, not caring to repeat what I had said to him upon that subject on former occasions; but as this measure has already been fully represented by the Prussian Ministers at London, and

considered by the King's Ministers, I will say no more upon it.

The King of Prussia told me that at first he had thoughts of commanding the army that is to act against the Russians, but his brother Prince Henry was destined for that army, and "as for us," added he, "I think it very possible we may be in Silesia before the end of the month of May, as the Austrians seem inclined to make that province the seat of war." In that case they will leave the defence of Dresden, and of the part of Saxony they are in possession of, to the troops of the Empire, which, however, will oblige his Prussian Majesty to have a corps in Saxony, as well for the security of his magazines, and for preserving the navigation of the Elbe.

By this conversation I was relieved from great anxiety, occasioned by certain reports maliciously spread with regard to the intention of his Royal Highness Prince Henry, and I am very glad that he is to have the command of a separate and independant army, to which he is every way equal. At the same time I must fairly own to your Lordship that I never wish to see the two brothers in the same army. My reason is, there cannot be two suns in the same firmament.[2]

[2] This corroborates what was said in a former page, that Mitchell's opinion of Prince Henry improved. Having accompanied Prince Henry in the campaign of the preceding years, he had an ample opportunity of observing his conduct as a general. Whatever may be said against the Prussian Royal family in regard to its unscrupulous manner of aggrandising itself, it must be admitted to have produced its full share of great men. I know no other family that produced two such generals in two brothers as Frederic II. and Prince Henry. None of Napoleon's brothers came near Prince Henry. Indeed

I have seen his Prussian Majesty this day; he seems in good health and spirits: he asked me if I had any good news to tell him; I answered, I had no letters since the 1st instant: Well, said he, I begin now to think the French are really in earnest; for even the Duc de Choiseul told the Dutch ambassador at Paris that *France must have peace;* and Monsieur d'Affry at the Hague gives himself great movements in different quarters, at the same time that he takes particular care to conceal all his transactions from the Ministers of their allies: in this he does wisely, for by that means the French remain masters of the negociation, unencumbered with allies whom it is impossible to satisfy, and as your nation is well disposed to peace, I hope good may come of it; but still, added he, I shall think nothing done till certain points are established between England and France to serve as a basis for a future treaty.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

In a conversation Mitchell had with the King of Prussia on the 23rd of May (1760), the King, says Mitchell, "began by mentioning the almost infinite

in looking at most what are called great families, one is surprised to see so few great or even notable men. If it be said that the House of Hanover has not been fertile in great men, it should be remembered that the mother of these two men was a daughter of that House, and that two of her daughters also, the Margravine of Bayreuth and the Princess Amelia, were women of superior abilities. As to the feature in their education, which made it different from that of Princes in general, see Frederic's conversation with Mitchell, vol. i. p. 359.

difficulties he had found during the last campaign to resist such a multitude of foes, acting nearly at the same time in Pomerania, Brandenburg, Saxony, and on the frontiers of Silesia, and added, with great candor, that if he had escaped absolute destruction, it was owing chiefly to the misconduct of his enemies, who hitherto had failed in not improving and following out the advantages they had actually gained; that errors in conduct were often corrected by experience, and therefore he must not reckon to profit of anything of that kind in the course of the present campaign."

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Most secret.

Camp at Gross-Dobritz,
Monday, 30th June, 1760.

My Lord,

On the 17th, the day before his Prussian Majesty left the camp of *Broschwitz,* he was pleased to communicate to me, in secret, his intention of attacking, the next day or the day after, the corps of General Lascy, and the reasons that induced him to make the attempt at this time.

The King of Prussia said that Lascy's corps were encamped near *Moritzburg;* that he intended the next morning to march towards *Radeburg,* and there to throw bridges over the river, in order to deceive the enemy, as if he was going into Lusatia; that should they continue firm, he would attack them the day after, though obliged to make a detour in order to get round them and fall upon their right flank; that if he succeeded,

he might perhaps disconcert their plan of operations, and be enabled to send detachments to General Fouquet, who really had no army, or to his brother Prince Henry, in case of need; that had he remained in the camps of *Katzenhausen* and *Schlettau*, on the left of the *Elbe*, the enemy might, with great ease, detach towards *Berlin*, or even cut off all communication between his army and that of his brother Prince Henry, and by chusing a proper position might render it impossible for him to send any succour into Silesia.

The reasons he gave for executing this project immediately were, that one body of the Russians seemed to be pointing towards *Berlin;* that the Austrians were besieging *Glatz*, and would take one place after another if timely succour was not sent to Fouquet; that the army of the Empire were already at *Zwickau*, and might be at *Dresden* by the 21st, which would enable Marshal Daun to reinforce the corps of General Lascy; that therefore he was resolved to attack on the 19th at farthest, because he could then fight with less disadvantage than it would be possible for him to do after the junction of the army of the Empire with Marshal Daun: and he concluded with saying, that if he succeeded, all might yet be saved,—if not, he knew the consequences, but that he had nothing else for it, as the present appeared to be the most favourable moment of risking a battle, with the least inequality of numbers.

These reasons I confess, my Lord, appeared to be solid and unanswerable, but unhappily the execution of this project has been defeated by Lascy's moving

towards *Dresden*, and I have not since been able to discover that his Prussian Majesty, fertile as he is in resources, has yet formed any new plan.

The disappointment, joined to the misfortune of General Fouquet, have made too deep an impression upon his Prussian Majesty's mind, and even occasioned a sensible alteration in his temper and spirits. He talks despondingly and with more harshness than usual, both which have a bad effect on the army. This I have observed for some days past with infinite concern ; and as I dined with him alone, I ventured to insinuate to him something on that head, which he was pleased to receive very kindly.

Things cannot long remain in this situation, and what I dread most is, that the King of Prussia, in attempting to do more than he is able, will miscarry in the whole ; for I find that, notwithstanding what has happened in Silesia, he is still thinking of keeping footing there ; and I have observed that every resolution he has lately taken has been in some sort dictated by the news received from that province, and therefore for some time past he does not seem to have acted with the same consistancy and connection with which he has hitherto done.

I have never seen the letters his Prussian Majesty has lately received from Constantinople ; they are dated the 26th of April and 8th of May, and, as he informs me, contain very strong assurances, not only that the treaty will be signed, but that the Turks will immediately begin to act. I observe, however, that within

these few days his hopes of assistance from that quarter are less sanguine than they were.

The inclosed for Mr. Pitt contains Mr. Porter's letter of the 8th of February, which came to hand about three weeks ago, the messenger that brought it having been sick upon the road.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Head Quarter at Gruna, behind Dresden,
Friday, 18th July, 1760.

MY LORD,

A few hours after Blackmore the messenger was dispatched from the camp of *Gross-Dobritz*, I had the honour of your Lordship's letter of the 17th of June, giving an account of the check his Majesty's arms had received before *Quebec*, which I immediately communicated to the King of Prussia, who was pleased on that occasion to express a most hearty and sincere concern for what had happened, as he feared it might be the means of retarding the progress of his Majesty's arms in that part of the world.

The arrival of Pearson the messenger on the 15th, in the afternoon, with your Lordship's dispatch of the 27th June, has dissipated all gloomy apprehensions, and the news of the raising the siege of *Quebec* fills the army with great and universal joy.

Having, in my dispatch of the 30th of June, by Blackmore, acquainted your Lordship of every thing

that had passed till that time, I shall now endeavour to give the best account I am able of one of the most extraordinary undertakings that has happened during the whole course of this war.

On the 1st July, his Prussian Majesty informed me that the army was to march at three o'clock next morning. His intentions certainly were, by quick marches, to get before Marshal Daun into Silesia, and, if possible, to attack the corps of General Lascy, in case he should find them separated from the great army. The Marshal was then in the strong camp of *Reichenberg*, and Lascy's corps at *Radeburg*, upon the *Röder*, distant upwards of two German miles from *Radeburg*, upon the same river.

2*nd*.—The army marched accordingly in two columns through a country extremely covered with wood, and were attacked by some Ullans and hussars, who were soon dispersed by a few cannon-shot. This march had been carefully kept secret, and it was the opinion of the most experienced officers, that had the enemy discovered the King of Prussia's design, they, by placing their light troops in the woods, properly supported, might have rendered this march extremely difficult, perhaps impracticable. The army continued marching from three in the morning till three in the afternoon; crossed the *Pülsnitz* (a small river that separates Misnia from the higher Lusatia) on the bridge at *Cracau*, and encamped upon the heights behind that town. The head quarter was at *Quolsdorff*.

3*rd*.—The army halted, and the patrouilles having

brought in word that Lascy's corps was encamped between *Lichtenberg* and *Mühlbach*, his Prussian Majesty immediately resolved to attack them, and for that purpose gave orders for the army to march at midnight.

4*th*.—The King of Prussia himself led the van-guard, and the army marched in two columns through very thick woods, and arrived early in the morning at *Königsbruck*, where they repassed the *Pülsnitz*, and continued marching towards *Lichtenberg;* but the outposts of General Lascy's corps, composed of Ullans and hussars, having given the alarm to the main body, that General thought proper to withdraw his whole infantry, leaving only the greatest part of his cavalry upon the heights, which likewise retired upon the approach of his Prussian Majesty, who was somewhat mortified to have failed, for the second time, in his attempt to surprise General Lascy. It is the opinion of most of the officers who have examined the grounds, that Lascy could not have been forced in the camp he occupied. The King of Prussia, not thinking fit to follow the enemy, took up his head quarter in the town of *Pülsnitz;* and having again passed that river, with the greatest part of his troops, occupied the heights on both sides of the town. This march was extremely fatiguing, as well on account of the heat as of the many defilés through which the army were obliged to pass.

5*th*.—The army marched in three columns at three in the morning to *Marienstern:* the head quarter was in the monastry. Here his Prussian Majesty had intelligence that Marshal Daun had left the strong camp

of *Reichenberg* and was encamped behind *Budissin*, and that General Lascy remained near *Radeberg*, upon the *Röder*, at such a distance as to be able to join the Marshal by one forced march.

6*th*.—The army marched at three o'clock this morning, and the order was to cross the river *Spree* at *Kammerau;* but his Prussian Majesty having notice from deserters that Marshal Daun had marched from *Budissin* towards *Görlitz*, altered his route, and ordered the army to pass the *Spree* near *Gross-Dobrau*. The head quarter was at *Neider-Gurka;* but the army occupied the strong camp of *Dobershutz*, distant from *Budissin* about half a German mile, and the same to which his Prussian Majesty had retired after the unhappy affair of *Hoh Kirch* in October, 1758.

7*th*.—The army halted, having been extremely fatigued with the march of the day before through deep sands and a burning heat, insomuch that I am informed that upwards of an hundred men died of mere fatigue. His Prussian Majesty went to reconnoitre Lascy's camp towards *Bischoffswerda;* but as his escorte was not strong enough, and as he approached too near to the enemy's camp, Lascy sent out his whole cavalry, and like to have surrounded him; however, upon the whole first line being put under arms and advancing, his Prussian Majesty was happily disengaged, and brought off upwards of two hundred prisoners; I hear he lost an equal number of his escorte.

8*th*.—The army halted. Deserters brought intelligence that Marshal Daun had arrived the day before

at *Görlitz*, and was this day to continue his march to *Lauban*. His Prussian Majesty finding that the Marshal had gained two marches upon him, immediately altered his plan, and ordered the tents to be struck at eight o'clock at night, repassed the Spree near *Budissin*, and marched on the 9th by *Bischoffswerda* to *Harta*, where the head quarter was.

10*th*.—His Prussian Majesty sent a strong detachment under the command of General Ziethen to *Marsdorff*, near the strong camp of *Reichenberg*, and marched himself with the rest of the army to *Weissig:* General Lascy was encamped at *Weisse-Hirsch*, opposite to and distant only half a German mile from *Dresden;* that General immediately quitted his post, crossed the *Elbe* on the stone bridge of *Dresden*, and encamped in the plain between Pirna and that town. His Prussian Majesty instantly placed a *piquet* of a thousand men on the *Weisse-Hirsch*. The army of the Empire, under the command of the Duke de deux Ponts, were encamped upon the heights behind *Plauen*.

11*th*.—The army halted, and his Prussian Majesty went to Marshal Daun's camp at *Reichenberg*, which he fairly owns was too strong to be attacked, and he has ordered the works to be demolished.

12*th*. — The army marched at seven o'clock this morning in two columns, crossed the small brook called the *Preisnitz*, thence to *Trachenberg*, and occupied the fortified camp of *Reichenberg*. Here General Ziethen with his corps from *Martzdorff* joined his Prussian Majesty; and General Hulsen, with his whole corps from

Meissen, appeared on the opposite side of the river, about three in the afternoon. A bridge of pontoons was immediately thrown over the Elbe at *Kaditz*, about half a German mile below Dresden. The Duke of Holstein and General Bulow were left with a strong detachment, to keep possession of the post of *Weisse-Hirsch*.

13*th*.—The army marched at two in the morning to *Kaditz*, where they made a very long halt,—the second bridge, which was of boats, not being finished. Here his Prussian Majesty had notice from General Hulsen that the Duke de deux Ponts and General Lascy's army had quitted their respective encampments, and were retired towards *Pirna*. I was standing by the King of Prussia, on the banks of the river, when he received this news, with which he seemed highly pleased, and turning to me said, It is just what I wished, they have saved me a very long march, which I should have been obliged to make before I could have dislodged them. His Prussian Majesty immediately got on horseback, and ordered the army to follow as fast as they could cross the river: they marched through *Briesnitz*, *Plauen*, where they passed the *Westritz*, and then towards the *Elbe*, behind the *Great Garden*, which was occupied by the pandours, who were instantly dislodged by the Prussian free bataillons. The Duke of Holstein was ordered with his corps to remain on the right of the *Elbe*, and to attack the town of *Dresden* on that side.

The King of Prussia sent Colonel Kleist, one of his

aid-de-camps, to summon the town ; to which General Maquire, the Governor, answered in the usual form. The head quarter was at *Gruna*, behind the *Great Garden*, and the army encamped in two lines, the first fronting towards *Pirna*, and the second towards *Dresden:* a battery was raised in the night near the garden of Moshinska.

14*th.*—At six in the morning the battery began to play, as well as one that had been raised by the Duke of Holstein on the other side of the river, but neither of them could do much damage, as the heavy artillery, ordered from *Torgau*, is not yet come up. The suburbs of the town towards the *Pirna Gate* was attacked and carried by a free bataillon and the *chasseurs à pied.* The Austrians set fire to some houses in that suburb. The firing continued very brisk all this day and all night long, as well from the town as from our batteries.

15*th.*—Firing, as the day before. The trees and hedges in the *Great Garden* were quite destroyed by the soldiers making their fascines there.

16*th.*—In the afternoon a sortie was made from the town, in order to cut off a small Prussian detachment which occupied the *Wiesse-Hirsch*, but they were drove back by the Duke of Holstein. The heavy artillery is not yet arrived, but expected with great impatience ; and in the mean time batteries are preparing, which occasion sharp firing in the night, in order to disturb the *travailleurs.*

17*th.*—Firing as usual. I hear four bataillons are to be placed upon the *Weisse-Hirsch*, in order to keep

possession of that important post, and that a bridge of boats will be thrown over the *Elbe*, above the town of *Dresden*, to secure the communication between this army and that of the Duke of Holstein. This precaution was the more necessary, as we know for certain that General Reid was detached by Marshal Daun, with a corps of six thousand men, who took possession of *Budissin* on the 11th, and are since advanced to *Radeberg*. It is likewise said (but I cannot give it for certain) that General Beck was detached at the head of sixteen thousand men, to reinforce the corps of General Lascy.

18*th*.—Firing very brisk all last night; and, I hear, a sortie was attempted from the *Pirna Gate*, but they were obliged to retire into the town with considerable loss. This day, about mid-day, the bridge over the *Elbe* was compleated: notwithstanding the efforts made by some of General Reid's corps, who were placed upon the heights on the right of the river, their cannon, by reason of the situation, did little damage; and those fired from the town hardly reach the bridge.

This day the heavy artillery arrived: it consists of ten battering-pieces, of twenty-four pound, and four large mortars; so we expect they will soon begin to batter in breach. This morning the garrison set fire to the only remaining street in the suburbs of the *Pirna Gate:* many of the wretched inhabitants of these suburbs, having retired to this camp with the poor remains they could save of their effects, are ordered to lodge in the village of *Plauen*.

The King of Prussia says he shall now be master of the town in a very few days, and the disposition he has made of his troops on the other side of the river is intended not only to attack *Dresden* on that side, but also to prevent the garrison from retiring. There are however many of opinion that the town will not be taken; or, if it should, that it will cost very dear, as General Maquire seems resolved to defend it to the last extremity, notwithstanding the cries of the inhabitants. The garrison consists of eleven or twelve bataillons of infantry, besides some cavalry. It is said they do not abound with ammunition, and that provisions are scarce in Dresden; but the soldiers will be fed if the citizens should starve.

I can say nothing certain with regard to Marshal Daun's motions: it is reported here that he continued still at *Lauban*, upon the frontiers of Silesia, and some late accounts contradict the news of General Beck's being detached to reinforce Lascy; however, it is always in Marshal Daun's power to send succours to that army, as the passage of the *Elbe* at and above *Pirna* is quite open, or to act elsewhere by way of diversion.

The army of the Empire under the Duke de deux Ponts is said to consist of sixteen thousand men, and the Austrian under Lascy of an equal number. They are encamped together near *Gross Seydlitz*, in an advantageous position, and may, if they think proper, occupy the strong camp of *Strupen*, between *Pirna* and *Königstein*, where the Saxons were shut up in the year 1756.

From the 2nd to the 15th instant this army was cut off from all correspondence whatever, being surrounded on every side by the light troops and detachments of the Austrian armies. Pearson the messenger was directed by the Prussian Ministers at *Magdeburg* to go to *Crossen*, there to wait farther orders, but was recalled upon this army's moving towards *Dresden*.

I cannot conclude without observing one piece of good fortune, that we have yet lost none of our baggage, though the whole was detached for several days at the distance of near three German miles from the army, escorted by two free bataillons only.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

P.S.—Cleverly the messenger is this moment arrived from Petersbourg with letters of the 3rd instant, which are not yet decyphered. A. M.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Head Quarter at Leubnitz, behind Dresden,
Friday, 25th July, 1760.

MY LORD,

I transmit to your Lordship Mr. Keith's letter, together with one inclosed for Prince Galitzen from the great Chancellor Woronzow. Mr. Keith desires that the Prince may be acquainted that the letter came directly by an English messenger from Petersbourg.

Mr. Keith writes me that he never saw Monsieur Pechlin but twice; that he had very little conversation with him; and that he, Pechlin, gave for the reason of his sudden departure, that the people at Petersbourg were very intriguing and full of suspicions, as well with regard to his arrival, as to his stay there. Mr. Keith is of opinion that at this juncture nothing could be done; he therefore has returned to me the Prussian cypher, which I have put into the hands of his Prussian Majesty's Secretary. He has likewise desired that the credit furnished to him upon Amsterdam may be withdrawn, as there is no probability at present of his being able to make use of it for the purposes for which it was lodged.

As there is now, since the arrival of Marshal Daun's army, no possibility of taking of Dresden, most of the officers of experience wish that his Prussian Majesty would in time think of his retreat, and of securing a passage over the *Elbe*, both which may be rendered difficult and dangerous.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Meissen, Thursday, 31st July, 1760.

MY LORD,

Since my last of the 18th, by Collins, I am honoured with your Lordship's letter of the 11th instant: the good news it conveys from Asia affords some comfort in the midst of adversity.

Having in my last acquainted your Lordship with every thing that had passed to the 18th instant, I shall now give you an account of what has happened since.

19*th.*—The batteries of the heavy artillery began to play, and in a very few hours the steeple of the *Creutz-Kirk* was set on fire by bombs, which communicating to the buildings in town, a terrible conflagration insued, which continued upwards of forty-eight hours, so that I fear a great part of this fine city is reduced to ashes.

This morning it was reported that Marshal Daun was arrived at *Schonfeldt*, distant only half a German mile from *Dresden*. His Prussian Majesty crossed the river, went to reconnoitre, and finding the report was true, he returned before mid-day, and ordered the bridge above the town to be withdrawn, which was accordingly executed.

In the afternoon, the Prussian troops in possession of the *Weisse-Hirsch* were again attacked; they made a brave defence, but, overpowered with numbers, were obliged to retire with the loss of some hundreds of men and several pieces of cannon.

20*th.*—About two this morning, a large body of cavalry from General Lascy's corps attacked a guard of hussars that was placed in the plain between this and *Pirna*, and drove them back almost into the head quarter; but the alarm was soon over, and they were repulsed in their turn, with very little loss on either side.

The batteries continued to play all this day, but

I hear the besieged have dismounted some of the battering-cannon, which, I am informed, were placed within ten or twelve paces of the ditch of the town, opposite to the face of the bastion, to the right of the Pirna Gate.

The Duke of Holstein, with the corps he had under him on the right of the *Elbe*, passed the river at *Kaditz* last night, and joined the army this day. His Prussian Majesty made an alteration in the camp. The town continued to burn furiously all night; and what added to the horror of the spectacle was the burning of a suburb called the *Fredericks Stadt*, which was set on fire by a free bataillon. The army were alert, and lay under arms all night, but nothing happened.

21*st.*—The army continue in the same position, the right of the first line being on the heights of *Gopplen*, towards *Possendorff*, and the left at *Striesen*, near the *Great Garden*. The army was ordered to be alert; but, notice being brought that Marshal Daun had thrown several bridges over the river, his Prussian Majesty left his head quarter at *Gruna* about eleven at night, and placed himself on the heights between the two lines; for it was conjectured, from a signal made by the town just before the troops began to pass the river, that whilst Marshal Daun attempted to clear the trenches, General Lascy would advance and attack the first line. This, however, did not happen, but Marshal Daun sent over ten bataillons under the command of Lieutenant-General Anger. They at first made some progress, and got into the batteries, from which they were soon

repulsed with considerable loss. On our side there are some hundreds a missing. The fire from the town, and that of the small arms in the trenches, was very violent, and lasted till daybreak.

As the night was dark, and the ground extremely broken, as well by hollow ways as by different encampments, his Prussian Majesty had the misfortune to fall from his horse. His foot was bruised by the horse treading upon it, but it is hoped it will be of no consequence. I was just behind him when this unlucky accident happened.

In this attack, about two hundred Austrians were made prisoners, but I hear of no officer taken, except Major-General Nugent, a young gentleman of Ireland, who is much trusted and employed in the Austrian army, and who seems to deserve all the confidence they have in him. He reckoned the garrison of *Dresden* fifteen thousand men strong, and told me that he had made the disposition for this *sortie* from Daun's army, in order to clear the trenches; that his intention was to have established himself near the *Zhee-Gate*, and to open a communication with the town on that side: he thinks if he had not, by accident, been made a prisoner in the dark, that he should have succeeded, and been master of all the batteries. He likewise said that Marshal Daun had been advanced as far as *Nauendorff*, on the frontiers of Silesia, which place he left on the 14th, and arrived at Schonfeldt the 18th, at night, which is not less than sixteen or seventeen German miles, and, I believe, the most expeditious marches ever

that Marshal made. I likewise learned, in conversation from this gentleman, that, if his Prussian Majesty had not suddenly returned to Dresden, Marshal Daun's intention was to have marched directly on to *Breslaw*, leaving a strong camp upon the frontier of Silesia, which he was enabled to do after his junction with General Loudon; and his opinion was, that, as things now stood, Marshal Daun would avoid giving battle, but endeavour to prevent the King of Prussia from passing the river, by which means he will facilitate General Loudon's operations in Silesia, particularly the siege of *Glatz*, which is reckoned may be begun before this time.

22*nd*.—The ten bataillons having retired into Marshal Daun's camp on the other side of the river, and no enemy appearing from the side of *Pirna*, about seven in the morning his Prussian Majesty took up his head quarter at *Leubnitz*, a village towards the center of the first line, the left of which is at *Strechlen*, and the right at *Plauen*. Nothing happened this day. The army alert all night, and the King of Prussia does not undress.

23*rd*, 24*th*, 25*th*, 26*th*, and 27*th*.—Nothing happened, only some small alterations were made in the camp, which cannot be explained without a drawing. In order to facilitate the retreat of the Prussian army, the baggage was sent to *Gorbitz*, and several bridges were thrown over the *Weisritz*, and some bataillons placed near *Plauen* to cover them. The army has been alert every night. His Prussian Majesty never undresses,

and is awaked before midnight ; notwithstanding which, the bruise of his foot is so much mended, that he has been several times on horseback.

28*th.*—I hear General Krokow has orders to occupy the strong camp of *Katzenhausen.*

Yesterday the Austrians detached some cavalry and hussars, with two bataillons of Croates ; they passed the *Elbe* at *Reissa,* where it is fordable, each dragoon and hussar carrying a Croate behind him ; they destroyed several boats and a small magazine at *Reissa,* but the chief damage they have done is the destruction of some hundreds of bombs, and upwards of an hundred quintals of powder, which his Prussian Majesty had ordered from *Magdeburg* for the siege of *Dresden,* but, upon that miscarrying, had directed it back to *Torgau.* The loss of the Austrians must be very inconsiderable, as there were only an hundred and twenty Prussians in garrison at *Reissa,* the greatest part of which were made prisoners.

Nothing happened in the camp this day. It is said his Prussian Majesty has sent orders to have bridges thrown over the Elbe at or near *Meissen.*

29*th.*—I had the honour of dining this day alone with his Prussian Majesty, when he told me that he intended to decamp in the night, and to pass the Elbe as soon as possible ; that he proposed to march through Lusatia into Silesia ; and that he thought it probable an action would happen either upon the *Queiss* or the *Bober,* as the Austrians would not fail to oppose his entry into that country.

Upon mentioning that I wanted to dispatch a messenger for England, the King of Prussia desired me to go directly on to *Meissen*, where I might have more quiet to make out my dispatch, and that the next day, or the day after, he should be at or near Meissen; I accordingly set out about four in the afternoon, and as I passed along had the mortification to see the whole Austrian army firing victory from the heights on the opposite side of the *Elbe*. This, I hear, is for some new advantage gained in Silesia; the Austrians give out that it was for the taking of *Glatz*, but our engineers say that it is impossible the fortress can be taken in so short a time, though the town may, and his Prussian Majesty has yet no accounts from thence.

30*th*.—I hear the army decamped about eleven o'clock last night; they crossed the *Weisritz*, and occupied the heights of *Kesselsdorff* and *Unckersdorff*, where the head quarter was, and were not harrassed in their retreat.

A bridge has been attempted to be thrown over the Elbe a little below this town, but the Austrian patrouilles, by their firing from the opposite side of the river, rendered it impracticable.

This night Major-General Seyburg received an order to march with some bataillons to *Kirschstein*, distant about a German mile and a half from hence, in order to throw a bridge over the river; and General Wedel has occupied the strong camp of *Schlettau*. General Krokow still remains in that of *Katzenhausen*.

31*st*.—The King of Prussia moved this morning early

from *Unkersdorff*, and it is said the head quarter will be at *Schüritz*, between this place and *Hirschstein*; but I have yet no certain account whether General Seyburg has succeeded in his attempt of making a bridge.

I forgot to mention that the reason given (whether true or false) for throwing of bombs into *Dresden*, by which so many unhappy and innocent subjects have been ruined was, that a centinel was observed upon the *Creitz Kirk*, who made signals for those upon the ramparts to fire upon the Prussians at work in the batteries.

Inclosed I send your Lordship a plan of the *environs* of *Dresden*, which I have obtained with much difficulty, as the engineers have been kept very busy. The deep blue marks the last position of the army; and I need not observe to your Lordship that what is called *New Dresden* in this drawing, is in the printed maps called *Old Dresden*. It is necessary, likewise, to take notice, that during the winter, for the better defence of *Dresden*, the Austrians overflowed the grounds to the west of the town, by making *dikes* across the *Weisritz*, and they also raised an *envelope* about the suburbs of the town, extending from the inundation towards the *Great Garden*. On the 13th instant, when General Lascy and the army of the Empire retired, they forgot to demolish this *envelope*, which was immediately occupied by the Prussians and turned against the town, and they kept possession of it to the last moment. On the 21st, at night, when a *sortie* was made from Marshal Daun's camp to clear the trenches, they had three bridges over

the *Elbe*, besides the stone bridge, but only two of them are expressed in this drawing.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

The following letter is important both as an illustration of Mitchell's tact in his conversations with the King of Prussia, and also as containing some very curious information respecting Voltaire's correspondence with Frederic, as well as Frederic's (we may suppose) real opinion of Voltaire's character, a strange character for a man to give of his particular friend, "the worst heart and greatest rascal now living," and which, though often quoted, scarcely needs an apology for being printed here in the letter in which it was originally written.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Secret.

Meissen, Thursday, 31st July, 1760.

MY LORD,

A few days ago I received a letter from Mr. Mackenzie, his Majesty's Envoy at *Turin*, inclosing one from Baron Edelsheim to the King of Prussia, the originals of both which letters I here transmit to your Lordship.

So soon as the Baron's letters could be decyphered, I gave a copy to his Prussian Majesty, which he read over in my presence, and seemed a good deal provoked and piqued with the conduct of the Bailly de Froulay. The next day the King of Prussia sent me an answer to

that letter, to be put into our French cypher, which accordingly has been done, and sent to Mr. Mackenzie, under a merchant's cover ; your Lordship has a copy of it here inclosed.

I cannot help, on this occasion, reminding your Lordship of what I mentioned in my letters from *Freyberg*, that there seemed to me something mysterious in the transaction with Baron Edelsheim (whose name I never could learn till I received Mr. Mackenzie's letter). In consequence of the suspicions I then had, I have made several attempts to get farther lights, but all to no purpose. After considering Baron Edelsheim's letter to the King of Prussia, I thought it afforded a fair opportunity of making one attempt more to discover, whether there was any separate and secret negociation going on at the Court of France through the channel of that gentleman.

Two days ago, happening to dine with his Prussian Majesty alone, I threw out, by way of conversation, some reflections on the indignity with which Monsieur de Choiseul had treated Baron Edelsheim, charged with a letter of credence. To this the King of Prussia, after mentioning with some warmth the weakness and absurdity of the French Ministers, replyed, that Baron Edelsheim had, properly speaking, no letter of credence, but only a letter from Minister to Minister, in which even a blank was left for the inserting of his name in case there should be occasion ; and he added, that as to the seizure of the Baron's papers, which was the only reasonable motive for arresting of him, the French

would be disappointed if they expected to make discoveries by them; for he had given the Baron no written instructions, and they would only find a particular cypher, which was of no consequence.

I then took the liberty to observe that some late letter his Prussian Majesty had written, which had fallen into the French Ministers' hands, seemed to give great offence. His Prussian Majesty replyed, I have wrote no letter but one to Voltaire. I ventured to say, Perhaps your Majesty may have in that letter made use of strong expressions with regard to the Duke de Choiseul; he answered, No. I think I made use of this proverbial phrase, that the Duke de Choiseul was possessed by ten millions of Austrian devils; that as to the rest, he had told Voltaire, he would keep to his alliance with England, and that if the French had a mind for peace, they must speak out plainly; and he said that this letter to Voltaire was an answer to one he had received from him, in which Voltaire had assured him that the French Ministers were perfectly well disposed towards a peace.

I think proper to acquaint your Lordship minutely with every circumstance concerning this affair, which I wish may agree with the accounts received from other parts, but I cannot help adding that the King of Prussia's correspondence with Voltaire has, on this and former occasions, given me some uneasiness and suspicions; for I believe the Court of France make use of the artfull pen of Voltaire to draw secrets from the King of Prussia, and when that Prince writes as a wit

and to a wit, he is capable of great indiscretions. But what surprises me still more is, that whenever Voltaire's name is mentioned, his Prussian Majesty never fails to give him the epithets he may deserve, which are the worst heart and greatest rascal now living; yet with all this he continues to correspond with him. Such in this Prince is the lust of praise from a great and elegant writer, in which, however, he will at last be the dupe; for by what I hear, from good authority, of Voltaire's character, he may dissemble, but never can nor never will forgive the King of Prussia for what has passed between them.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Per Cleverly.

Meissen, 31*st July*, 1760.

MY other letters by this messenger will inform your Lordship of everything that has passed since the 12th, and I am very unwilling and very unfit at the present moment to make reflections.

I cannot think of the bombardment of Dresden without horror, nor of many other things I have seen. Misfortunes naturally sour men's tempers, and the continuance of them at last extinguishes humanity.

We are now in a most critical and dangerous situation, which cannot long last; one lucky event,

approaching to a miracle, may still save all; but the extreme caution and circumspection of Marshal Daun, joined to that infinite superiority of number, give but little ground to hope that such an event will happen.

As to myself, I have held out beyond expectation, under fatigues of body and mind, that are hardly to be described; I shall mention but one instance. Since the 14th of June last, I may fairly say I have not enjoyed one night of sound sleep; but I am resolved to go on, as it is my duty to endeavour, to the utmost of my power, to obey the command of the best of masters, let the consequences be what they will to me.

I ever am, &c., &c.

Mr. Mitchell to the Duke of Newcastle.

Per Cleverly, private.

Meissen, 31st July, 1760.

SINCE my last to your Grace, of the 30th June, nothing material and worth transmitting to your Grace has happened.

My letters to the Earl of Holdernesse will have informed your Grace of our military operations, which, upon the whole, have not been successful. His Prussian Majesty seems resolved to pass the Elbe, and to make one effort more to derange and disconcert the projects of his enemies; if he succeeds, he may still be able to struggle out the campaign.

Our army has suffered much by long marches and other fatigues; that of Marshal Daun is greatly superior in number, and the extreme caution and circumspection with which he acts, leave but little room to hope for anything from fortune.

His Prussian Majesty sees and feels his situation, though he endeavours carefully to cover it, and to put the best face upon things they will bear. I have had many private conversations with his Prussian Majesty, and have been an eye-witness to many things which I wish had never happened; I have even ventured to speak freely upon several occasions; but all the consolation I had was, that what I said gave no offence. Your Grace shall be informed of every particular, if ever I have the happiness to see you, for they are not fit to write.

I have directed Cleverly to deliver this letter to your Grace: he can inform you of what he has seen, and of some particulars too minute to be wrote.

As to myself, I am, thank God, in tolerable health, but quite exhausted with fatigue of body and mind. I am, however, resolved to go on to the last; my duty and gratitude to the King obliges me; and your Grace, I hope, shall never be ashamed of the countenance and friendship with which you have honoured me.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Head Quarter at Dalwitz,
Saturday, 2nd August, 1760.

My Lord,

Since my dispatch by Cleverly, of the 31st of July, I have the satisfaction to acquaint your Lordship that yesterday the whole army passed the *Elbe* over two bridges near *Hirschstein*, and encamped with the right at *Wantewitz*, and the left at *Dalwitz*, upon the heights behind *Gross Dobritz*. This day the army halts, and I hear the bridges will be withdrawn, as we march to-morrow towards Lusatia. It is said that Marshall Daun moved, on the 31st, towards *Bischoffswerda*, which affords a good reason why the passage of the *Elbe* was effected without any opposition. What force he may have left at or near *Dresden*, I cannot inform your Lordship.

His Prussian Majesty has left General Hulsen in possession of the town of *Meissen* and strong camp of *Schlettau*, with a corps, as I am informed, of twenty bataillons and twenty-five squadrons, so that I reckon the strength of the army that marches with the King of Prussia to be about thirty thousand men.

I am, &c.,

And$^{R.}$ Mitchell.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Head Quarter at Neumarck,
Saturday, 16th August, 1760.

My Lord,

Since my last, of the 2nd, from the camp of *Dalwitz*, acquainting your Lordship that the Prussian army had happily passed the *Elbe*, without opposition, all communication whatever has been cut off, and it has continued to the present moment equally impossible to send or receive any letters, as will more plainly appear to your Lordship by what follows.

August 3rd.—The army marched in three columns at two o'clock this morning, passed the *Roder* and the *Pülsnitz*, and encamped with *Königsbruck* on the right and *Koitsch* on the left, where the head quarter was. This march was upwards of four German miles, through a country extremely wooded and deep sands, but, the weather being moderate, the troops were not much fatigued.

4th.—The army marched this morning, at two o'clock, in three columns, passed by *Camentz*, and encamped on this side the *Spree*, about one German mile from *Budissin*, which lay to our right. The head quarter was at *Ratibar;* the country is wooded, and the soil sand, with many ponds and morasses; the distance about the same as the march of yesterday, but the troops were greatly fatigued, by reason of the burning heat.

Marshal Daun, who was at *Budissin*, left it this

morning, and our van-guard had sight of his rear this day, about mid-day, when we arrived at *Budissin*, but nothing followed.

5th.—The army marched at two o'clock, crossed the *Spree* near *Klix*, passed by *Weissenburg*, *Mellauna*, to *Arnsdorff*, where the army encamped. The head quarter at *Arnsdorff*. This day the soldiers suffered prodigiously, as well from the length of the march, as from the excessive heat, so that many of them died on the road.

General Reid, with a corps of five thousand men, was placed upon the heights of *Hoh-Kirk*, near *Budissin*, with orders to harrass the Prussian army in flank as they passed, whilst General Lascy was to follow with his corps, and attack them in rear; but the celerity of his Prussian Majesty's marches rendered this project entirely abortive.

This day an aid-de-camp of Marshal Daun, carrying letters to General Lascy, and an aid-de-camp of General Reid, with letters to Marshal Daun, were intercepted by the Prussian hussars. It appeared, by the letters, that Marshal Daun was marching towards *Loewenberg*, and had directed Lascy to follow him, but without precipitation; that he intended to besiege *Schweidnitz*, and asks General Lascy's opinion upon it. The Marshal transmitted, at the same time, a letter from the Emperor to General Lascy, in which the Emperor gives that General his thoughts as to the means to be used of getting intelligence of the King of Prussia's projects. The letters from General Reid

contained nothing but an account of the King of Prussia's motions.

His Prussian Majesty thought this capture of the greatest importance, as it discovered to him the real designs of the enemy, which before he could only conjecture.

6*th.*—The army marched at two o'clock in three columns as usual, and arrived on the banks of the *Neiss* about nine in the morning, where they halted five hours. The Neiss is here but a small river, fordable in many places; but, as the banks are steep, several bridges of pontons were thrown over at *Zodel* and other places, to facilitate the passage of the army, which then marched by *Neider Langenau* to *Roth-Wasser*, where the head quarter was. This miserable village of *Roth-Wasser* stands in the middle of a wood, almost as wild and as impenetrable as those in North America: there was hardly ground enough cleared about it for the encampment of the troops. The passage of the artillery over the *Neiss* having retarded the march of the army, the head of the columns did not arrive in camp till eleven at night, and the tail about three next morning. I am informed we lost upwards of seven hundred men, chiefly by desertion, which was rendered very easy by the confusion incident to night-marches through woods.

7*th.*—The army, being excessively fatigued with the labours of the day before, began their march at five o'clock this morning in three columns, passed the *Queiss* at *Sygersdorff* and other places where bridges were

laid for the infantry; the cavalry passed at the fords, and, after crossing the *Bober*, marched on to *Butzlau*, where they encamped on the heights behind the town. The head quarter was in the suburbs of *Buntzlau*. General Beck, who had occupied that town and had a small camp behind it, abandoned both yesterday.

8*th*.—After those almost incredible marches, his Prussian Majesty thought proper to give his army rest for one day in the camp of *Buntzlau*. The news we had of the enemy was, that they were uniting all their corps as fast as possible; that Marshal Daun was at *Schmotseiffen*, near *Loewenberg;* General Loudon at *Schönau*, and Beck at *Braunau*. It was likewise reported that Prince Henry of Prussia was in the neighbourhood of *Breslaw;* that his Royal Highness, after obliging General Loudon to abandon that place, which he had attempted to take by *escalade*, had detached to *Parchwitz* and *Lignitz*, and that the Russians were advancing.

9*th*.—The army marched at three this morning, in three columns, by *Thomaswald*, *Adesdorff*, to *Hohendorff*, a village situated on the banks of the *Katzbach*, between *Golberg* and *Lignitz*. The camp here was strong and well chose, but the head quarter, which was in the village of *Hohendorff*, before the camp, extremely exposed. Marshal Daun's army, united with the corps of Loudon and Beck, were encamped on the heights opposite to *Hohendorff*, having only the *Katzbach* (a small rivulet with steep banks, resembling an ordinary ditch) between them and the Prussians. The centinels

of the two armies were within pistol-shot of each other. The army, expecting to be attacked, was alert all night, and his Prussian Majesty told me that he should either fight next morning, or march on to *Lignitz*. This day the King of Prussia had news that his brother, Prince Henry, had destroyed a regiment of Austrians, and obliged General Loudon to retire from before *Breslaw*, but that the Prince had repassed the Oder, to oppose the Russians, who were advancing towards *Breslaw*.

This march was upwards of five German miles, and the King of Prussia's intention was to have passed the *Katzbach* at *Goldberg*, *Hohendorff*, and other places, and to have penetrated by *Jauer*, and occupied the heights of *Strigau*, which would have secured the communication with *Schweidnitz;* but finding that impracticable, by reason of the position of the enemy, he altered his project, and resolved to march straight to *Lignitz*, there to try, if it was possible, to open communication with *Breslaw* by *Parckwitz* and *Neumarck*.

10*th*.—Contrary to expectation, all was quiet last night; and the enemy making no attempt to pass the *Katzbach*, his Prussian Majesty, after reconnoitring, ordered his army to march, in three columns, at five in the morning, directly to *Lignitz*. No sooner did he begin to move, than the Austrians immediately decamped, and continued marching along the heights on the opposite side of the *Katzbach;* and to the eye they appeared to make a fourth Prussian column, so small was the distance between.

The Prussian army arrived about eleven o'clock, and

encamped upon the heights before *Lignitz*. The head quarter was in the suburbs. The Austrian army that had accompanied them extended the encampment lower down the *Katzbach;* their left was at *Hoh-Kirk*, the center towards *Walstadt*, and their right at *Koitschwitz*, by which position they had gained almost a march upon his Prussian Majesty, in case he should attempt to penetrate by *Parckwitz* to *Neumarck;* but the King of Prussia ordered his army to decamp about ten o'clock this night and marching directly back to *Hohendorff*.

11*th*.—By daybreak the army arrived at *Hohendorff;* but his Prussian Majesty finding that General Lascy with his corps had, the evening before, occupied the camp on the opposite side of the *Katzbach* (which Marshal Daun had quitted the 10th in the morning), after a smart cannonade, resolved to attempt the passage of the *Katzbach*, a little higher up that river, which was effected without opposition; and in the mean time General Lascy thought proper to retire towards Marshal Daun's army.

After having occupied the heights on the opposite side of the *Katzbach*, his Prussian Majesty halted several hours for the coming up of the baggage and rear-guard, which was but faintly attacked. This halt, absolutely necessary, proved fatal to his Prussian Majesty's design of getting into *Jauer* before the enemy; for though the King of Prussia had gained upon them by this night's march, yet by the retardment in passing the river, and the embarrassment with the baggage, the

enemy, discovering his intention, had time to occupy *Jauer*, distant from them but two German miles.

His Prussian Majesty finding this project disappointed, after a march of sixteen hours, took up his head quarter at *Seichau*, a very poor village in the mountains, surrounded with hills on all sides, and distant from *Jauer* about one and a half German mile. In the evening the Austrians encamped upon several of the hills, very near the Prussian camp, from which they were separated by a deep ravine only.

12*th*.—This morning, about eight o'clock, intelligence being brought that the enemy were endeavouring to get round us, the tents were struck, the army drawn out in order of battle, and the baggage, &c., ordered to *Prausnitz*, about half a German mile from *Seichau*, towards *Golberg*. This alarm was occasioned by a report that the enemy had marched a strong corps through the woods and behind the hills, to shut us up on the side of *Goldberg*, the only passage we had left to get out of this bad camp; and already it began to be whispered among the officers, that if the King of Prussia did not immediately move, this would prove a second part to the affair of *Maxen;* for there was then but four days' bread for the army, and no possibility of getting any whilst we remained in the present camp.

Some *patrouilles* of cavalry and hussars being sent into the woods and towards *Goldberg*, reported that all was yet clear on that side; so his Prussian Majesty about mid-day ordered his army to encamp as before, and I returned to my quarters at *Seichau*, where I imme-

diately, with great labour, destroyed all the cyphers and other papers of consequence I had, persuaded as I was, from what I had seen, that if the army had been attacked in this camp, it would have been absolutely impossible to have saved the baggage.

About six this evening his Prussian Majesty ordered Lieutenant-General Bülow to march with the second line, to secure the communication with *Goldberg* and the passage of the *Katzbach*, and he directed me to go with the cavalry commanded by the Duke of Holstein, which was to march at eight at night.

13*th*.—The army continued marching all last night, and happily repassed the *Katzbach* about one this morning. There was great confusion in the column with which I marched, but I hear of no bad accident that has happened; only the march was extremely tedious and fatiguing, for it lasted sixteen hours before the head of the column arrived at *Lignitz*, where the army re-occupied its old camp, and his Prussian Majesty his quarter in the suburbs. I am informed the army was followed in their retreat by some hundreds of hussars, who gave very little trouble, and only a few pieces of cannon were lost by the breaking down of the carriages, occasioned by the guides mistaking the road in a dark night. Here I cannot but observe to your Lordship that the chief comfort I had during this long, dangerous, and painful march, was, that I was now no longer embarrassed with cyphers and papers, which, in many critical moments, have been a terrible load upon my spirits.

14*th.*—Last night an order was given to be ready to march at two o'clock this morning, which, however, was superseded, and the army remained quiet in camp. It was generally believed that the army must march towards *Glogau*, as there was but two days' bread; for which purpose the bread-waggons were detached under an escorte of two free bataillons and some hussars: but it now appears that his Prussian Majesty's design was to have attempted to pass the *Oder* somewhere near *Lebus*, and by that means to secure the junction with Prince Henry's army; for which end the army decamped about eight o'clock at night, passed the *Schwartz-Wasser* which falls into the *Katzbach* near *Lignitz*, and occupied the heights of *Phaffendorff*.

15*th.*—The army continued marching towards *Bienowitz*, where some of the Prussian patrouilles of hussars fell in with the columns of General Gordon's corps, then on march. His Prussian Majesty immediately occupied the heights and formed in order of battle. General Loudon advanced to attack the left of the Prussian army, and at break of day a very sharp action ensued, in which the Austrians were totally defeated, the particulars of which I shall give your Lordship in a separate letter. Immediately after the action, his Prussian Majesty ordered his army to fire victory upon the field of battle, which they did in the sight of Marshal Daun's army, then retiring towards *Jauer*. The King of Prussia could not reap all the fruits that by a brisk pursuit this victory might have yielded; for it was of the utmost importance to secure the com-

munication with *Breslaw;* he therefore marched directly by *Pohlschildren,* passed the *Katzbach,* and occupied the heights behind *Parckwitz,* where the army encamped. The head quarter was in *Parckwitz.*

Last night, when the army decamped from *Lignitz,* I was directed to go with the company of grenadiers of the first bataillon of guards ; but having been very much indisposed for some days past, and unable to ride on horseback, I went in my coach. Early in the morning the officer that commanded came up to me and said that he had his Prussian Majesty's orders to go to *Kuchelberg,* which is on the road to *Luben,* and there to stop till he should receive farther directions. I was greatly surprised with what he told me, as by this means we were quite separated from the army. Very soon after, we heard firing of cannon to the right, which was judged to be from the King of Prussia's army, and in less than a quarter of an hour we were attacked by five squadrons of the enemy's dragoons and hussars. The officer immediately halted, put his men in the best posture of defence, and formed a *Wagenburg,* which consisted of the King of Prussia's coaches, Margrave Charles's, mine, and some other baggage. In this situation we remained for about an hour, firing and receiving the fire of the enemy, which was not very brisk, till his Prussian Majesty, after the action was over, sent some hussars and dragoons to relieve and conduct us to the field of battle. I never in my life passed an hour more disagreeably. If your Lordship looks upon the map, you will find the village of *Kuchelberg* situated

in a wood, nearer the town of Lignitz, of which the enemy were in possession, than to the Prussian army, so that from the first moment of the attack I considered myself as a prisoner, and our whole force was under two hundred men, commanded by very young officers, who however did their duty extremely well.

16*th.*—The army marched in three columns and encamped on the heights behind *Neumark*, where the head quarter is. It was accompanied in the march on the right flank by two strong corps of Austrians under the command of General Beck and Prince *Loewenstein*, which were intended to have joined General Chernichew, who had passed the *Oder* with about twenty thousand Russians, and was encamped in the neighbourhood of Breslaw, but, upon receiving the news of General Loudon's defeat, Chernichew had immediately repassed the *Oder*.

We are now fully informed by the prisoners of what Marshal Daun's designs were, though perhaps the King of Prussia may have penetrated them before. As all the Austrian corps united do not make less than eighty thousand men, the Marshal, in order to surround the Prussian army, determined in the night of 14th to pass the *Katzbach*, and attack his Prussian Majesty in front, in his camp near *Lignitz*, at the same time that Generals Lascy, Neuweid, and Beck were to fall upon the flanks, and Loudon with a strong corps was actually on march to have shut him up behind. This project, had it not failed in the execution, would probably have been fatal to his Prussian Majesty and his army,

especially as there was a corps of Russians that had passed the *Oder*, of which, at that time, we had no notice whatever.

Marshal Daun accordingly passed the *Katzbach* on the 14th in the night; came into the camp near *Lignitz* which his Prussian Majesty had abandoned, and, to his great surprise, finding General Loudon engaged, marched round that town in order to support him; but his Prussian Majesty had planted a battery so properly to cover a *defilé* through which Daun was obliged to pass, that he thought proper to retire the way he came, without being able to succour Loudon, and after the action was over marched with his whole army towards *Jauer*.

His Prussian Majesty has escaped many dangers, but none greater nor more immediate than that I have mentioned. His deliverance is owing, under God, to his superior capacity, the celerity of his motions, and that firmness of mind he enjoys in the most horrid situations, and in the midst of the greatest alarms.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Head Quarter at Neumarck,
Saturday, 16th August, 1760.

MY LORD,

I have the honour to acquaint your Lordship that yesterday the King of Prussia obtained a signal

and compleat victory, near the town of *Lignitz*, over the corps of Austrians commanded by General Loudon. His Prussian Majesty has made upwards of five thousand prisoners, among whom are two generals and eighty officers. He has also taken fourscore pieces of cannon, besides other trophies, a specification of which shall be transmitted afterwards.

The number of Austrians killed on the field of battle is said to amount to about two thousand, and the whole loss in killed and wounded on the side of the Prussians is computed eighteen hundred. I hear of no officer of distinction killed, and Major-General Schenckendorff is the only one that is wounded.

His Prussian Majesty had left his camp near Lignitz on the 14th, in the night, and, marching by *Phaffendorff* to *Bienowitz*, fell in with the Austrian corps commanded by General Loudon, likewise on its march, and equal in number to the Prussian army. The King of Prussia immediately occupied the heights of *Bienowitz*, and formed in order of battle. The action began about three in the morning, on the left of the Prussians, and was very brisk on both sides till near five, when the Austrians gave way, and quitted the field in great confusion.

All the troops behaved well, and received the King's thanks on the field of battle, where they halted for some hours, and, after firing victory, continued their march towards *Parckwitz*, as it was of much more importance to secure that post, than to harrass the enemy in their flight.

This victory is of the utmost consequence, as the communication with *Breslaw*, where the magazines are, and the junction with his Royal Highness Prince Henry of Prussia's army, on the other side of the *Oder*, are thereby effectually secured, notwithstanding the immense armies of Austria and Russia drawn together within a very narrow circle.

In this action the King of Prussia exposed his person to the greatest dangers. A grape-shot pierced the skirts of his coat; the horse he rode was wounded by a musket-ball; one of his pages had his horse killed by a cannon-shot; and his ecuyer, and one of the grooms, were both mortally wounded, but, thank Heaven, his Prussian Majesty is not hurt.

I heartily congratulate your Lordship on this occasion, and am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

P.S. The army is just arrived at Neumark, and I write this to be dispatched the moment the roads are secure. A. M.

Mr. Mitchell to the Duke of Newcastle.

Neumarck,[3] 17*th August,* 1760.

ALLOW me, my Lord, to congratulate your Grace on the most signal, most compleat, and most unexpected

[3] As the rule I have followed is to leave, as much as possible, the spelling as I find it in the MS., uniformity of spelling is not to be looked for, the same word (for instance, this very word, Neumark, Neumarck, Neumarkt) being often spelled two, and sometimes more than two different ways.

victory obtained by his Prussian Majesty over a corps of Austrians commanded by General Loudon, and equal in number to the whole Prussian army. My letters to the Earl of Holdernesse, by this messenger, will give the particulars, which I therefore do not repeat; but I hope this great event will restore our affairs here, which before seemed to be in a desperate situation. I am the more persuaded of this, because his Prussian Majesty resolved to act with the greatest caution and prudence, sensible that, though the danger is lessened, it is not yet over.

As I had been extremely indisposed for several days, and unable to ride on horseback, I was not in the action; but the King of Prussia, when he marched his army from the field of battle, sent for me to ride along with him. When I came up to him, and had given him joy of the victory, he was pleased to say very graciously, As you have shared the fatigues with me, I want you should likewise rejoice with me. He then entered into a detail of the battle, commended highly the behaviour of his troops, and, after making some excellent reflections on the imperfections of human foresight, he said, You see how I have laboured, to no purpose, to bring about the event that has now happened. The victory I have gained is entirely owing to the bravery of my troops. Had I remained in the camp of Liegnitz, I should have been surrounded on all sides. Had I arrived one quarter of an hour sooner on the field of battle, the event would not have happened, and a few days would have put an end to the whole affair. His Prussian

Majesty then made a comparison of the battle of *Liegnitz* with that of Rosbach, in the year 1757; the number of prisoners; the number of cannon taken; the small loss the Prussians sustained; and all striking circumstances of resemblance: and he observed that the chief advantages he had over the enemy were, that his army was formed before that of the enemy was quite ranged, and that, by his knowledge of the ground, he had got possession of the heights.

I mention these particulars, imagining they may be of some amusement to your Grace; and now I must acquaint you that my health is so impaired, that his Prussian Majesty has desired me to go to Breslaw for the recovery of it, and I flatter myself your Grace will not only approve of my leaving the army for some time, but that you will set it in its true light to the King, whose service I have entirely at heart.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Newmarkt, 17th August, 1760.

My other letters by this messenger sufficiently prove to your Lordship what I ventured to affirm in my letter of the 31st July, that one lucky event approaching to *a miracle might still* save all: this event has happened, and in a most extraordinary manner; for his Prussian Majesty told me, immediately after the action, that had he been one quarter of an hour sooner

or later on the ground, it would not have happened; and he fairly owned that, had he been defeated, there was an end of all.

My health has been so much impaired by excessive fatigues,[4] that his Prussian Majesty has desired me to go to Breslaw for the recovery of it; and, indeed, it was full time, for I was so reduced, that for the last four days, I have not been able to ride on horseback. The late victory has given me spirits, and I hope repose will restore my strength.

I must beg the favour of your Lordship to put this matter in its true light before his Majesty, as his approbation of my conduct is my highest ambition.

I suspect the King of Prussia had intelligence of the enemies' intentions, but our danger was greater than we knew of, upwards of 20m Russians having passed the Oder near Breslaw, and the army had bread only to the 16th.

[4] In a letter of the same date to the Duke of Newcastle, Mitchell says that "his expenses in this campaign have been considerably increased by the death of horses in the almost incredible marches they had made." In a letter to Lord Holdernesse, of the 19th August, he says: "Since the 3rd of this month to the 16th inclusive, this army has marched upwards of two hundred English miles, with only one day's halt at *Buntzlau*, on the 8th instant; and what is still more surprising, though attended with a train of upwards of twenty-five hundred carriages, including artillery, bread-waggons, coaches, &c., have lost but a very small part of their baggage, and occasioned chiefly by the negligence of the servants during the action of the 15th." And in a letter to Lord Holdernesse, of 22nd October, 1759, he says: "I am almost dead with fatigue of different sorts: these night-marches are, of all the operations in war, the most detestable; pray God, I may never see more of them."

The following is part of a letter from Mitchell to the Duke of Newcastle, dated Glogau, 20th Nov., 1760 :—

"I entirely agree with your Grace in your notions of Providence, and have had many disputes with his Prussian Majesty on that subject. The last was on the field of battle near *Liegnitz*, when he said he owed that victory to chance. I took the liberty to reply, that it was plain to me, if Providence had not given his Majesty a better understanding than his enemies, he would not have been victorious that day. He answered, with good humour, *Je sais que nous ne sommes pas tout au fait d'accord sur ce point la mais soit a present parceque vous le voulez, ainsi.*"

Mr. Mitchell to Mr. Pitt.

Private, per Pearson.

DEAR SIR, *Glogau, 10th November,* 1760.

Your private letter of the 9th September, which I received here about a week ago, gave me most sincere joy; and I shall not fail to communicate to the hero I attend the friendly and manly sentiments it conveys.

I most heartily congratulate you on the success of his Majesty's arms in America (which is your own work), as well as on another unexpected victory obtained by the King of Prussia, on the third instant, near *Torgau:* it is said to have been great and compleat; but, as I have yet seen no authentic relation of it, I forbear saying more.

The news of his late Majesty's death struck a universal damp among the spirits of the well-wishers to the common cause, which nothing but his present Majesty's wise and well-timed declaration in council could have dissipated: thank Heaven, it has had the effect, and people here look for their salvation from England.

My Lord Holdernesse having acquainted me that it was his Majesty's gracious intention to send me new letters of credence to this Court, I think myself highly honoured by this mark of his Majesty's favour; and as I am probably indebted to you for the favourable opinion the King has of me, accept of my most hearty thanks.

The friendly manner in which you write to me emboldens me to ask your assistance in a pretension I made about two years ago for one of the vacant red ribands: my reasons for asking it were, as a public mark of the King's approbation of my conduct, and as a sort of protection to my person; for I have unfortunately, even during this last campaign, been in divers situations, where a mark of distinction would have been of the greatest use. If you approve my reasons, you will support my pretension, and believe me ever most sincerely,

Your most obliged, &c. &c.,

A. M.

The following letter is a good commentary on the text of Sir Robert Walpole's character of the Duke of Newcastle: "His name is Perfidy."

The Earl of Holdernesse to Mr. Mitchell.

Secret and confidential.

Arlington Street, November 28th, 1760.

DEAR SIR,

I take the opportunity of Monsieur de Cocceji's departure to open myself freely to you. But, before you read this letter, I beg you would cast your eye again upon my former ones of December 5th, 1757, and May 25th, 1759. In the first, you will observe the part I acted towards the Duke of Newcastle in the most difficult times; by the second, you will have collected that I was not satisfied with the return I met with. I mean now to open this matter a little more fully to you.

What it was that first caused his Grace's distrust, I cannot guess, and, I believe, he cannot tell; at least, in some explanations he has had with me myself, and in some expostulations with common friends, he has urged no one particular that could give just cause of jealousy, but grounded it upon a general surmise of a predilection for Mr. Pitt; but I shall soon show you that could not be the case, for though, at the time of my resignation, in 1757, he publickly avowed it to be the greatest act of friendship, that one man had ever done another, I know, past a doubt, that within three days after his

coming again to Court he sacrificed me in the closet to save himself, in a manner that I did not recover the ground I lost, to the King's last hours.

Towards the beginning of 1758 his Grace had some private reasons for endeavouring to repair to the Princess Dowager of Orange's confidence; and in his private correspondence with General Yorke, carried on unknown to me, he undertook for measures that he could not carry into execution. Some excuse must be found to save his credit in Holland, when called upon from thence to keep his word; upon which, the failure of those measures, the whole scheme of which was equally unknown to Pitt and myself, was laid upon me; and he has contrived to persuade the King, as well as many of my old friends in Holland, that I was doing my utmost to drive matters to extremities with the republick. The truth is, that the disputes we then had with the Dutch for covering the French trade in so extensive a manner as they did, were of so delicate a nature, that I never sent a letter to General Yorke upon the subject, that had not been previously determined in council, both as to matter and expression. About Christmas 1758, I went to Bath for five weeks, and his Grace did, indeed, not neglect the opportunity of my absence, to raise a storm against me: and he succeeded to admiration in his plan; for, at my return to London, I found a formal complaint against me from Denmark, and a great deal of ill-humour from Holland; and the scheme was so well worked up, that his late Majesty himself told me, one day, I should be answerable to

him and to the publick for the difficulties I had thrown into his affairs with those two Courts.

I had hitherto remained passive, and quietly bore a great deal of ill usage; but this charge was too strong to be submitted to: a justification became necessary, and I insisted upon calling together the Cabinet Council, in order to lay before them all my correspondence and proceedings; and some conversations with the Danish Minister having been objected to me, I prepared a paper setting forth the arguments I had used with the Court of Denmark, and proving them to be founded upon treaty. This trial, for it was little less, ended in a declaration from the Cabinet Council (from which even his Grace could not dissent) that my several dispatches were exactly conformable to the decision of the meetings that had been held upon the points in debate. My justification towards the Court of Denmark was delivered by Mr. Titley to Baron Bernsdorff, and never yet has had a word of reply, nor has the Court of Copenhagen since maintained some unreasonable demands, upon which they had, till then, been very clamorous: from this time forwards, the total breach between the Duke of Newcastle and myself became publick; but as he had failed in his mean attempt to blast my character, as a man of business, he had no way left of shewing his resentment but by private slights and mortifications, of which he has had sufficient opportunities, and has never spared them.

You will guess by this story in what temper of mind

I wrote to you on the 25th May, 1759; but I was then too recently hurt, and too warm to venture to write, even to you; I can now do it more dispassionately, as I am more out of the reach of his Grace's malice.

But I have said enough, perhaps too much, of myself already; you will naturally expect some sketch, at least, of the new scene that is opening. To begin at the fountain-head, I will acquaint you that our young monarch shews great attention to his affairs, and an earnest desire of being truly informed of the state of them. He is patient and diligent in business, and gives evident marks of perspicuity and sound good sense. There is a grace and affability in his manner that is vastly engaging, and which is properly tempered with a becoming dignity of representation. I protest to you, this picture is drawn without the least flattery, and rather under than over the mark. The outset of his Majesty's reign has given universal satisfaction: his declaration to Parliament, and his continuing the conduct of his affairs in the hands of the same persons that have hitherto carried them on with success, will give spirit and vigour to the King's allies, and have a contrary effect upon his enemies. Our loan for the ensuing year is compleated upon terms tolerably moderate, so that we are prepared against all events. Our time has hitherto been totally absorbed in domestick arrangements; but as I hope the civil list will be finally adjusted this week, we shall then resume the detail of business.

Monsieur de Cocceji[5] having been an eye-witness to what has passed since the King's accession, and being well acquainted with the principal actors in the scene, will supply, by word of mouth, what may be deficient in this letter. I will only add, as to yourself, that I will omit no opportunity of pressing the affair of the ribbon: hitherto it has not been possible to mention a matter of private concern, and I apprehend none will be given till the disposal of all the vacancies is determined.

Let me know if I can be of use to you in your election. It may be right you should know (but I beg it may be a profound secret) that there has been, of late, a coldness between the Duke of Argyll and my Lord Bute; so that I can't form the least guess in what channel the affairs of Scotland will flow. You know the great weight and infinite art of that sly old fox: of late his Grace and I have been upon very good terms, though without any connection; but if he comes to an open rupture with Lord Bute, (which, however, I sincerely wish may be avoided,) I shall not hesitate which party to take. Lord Bute and I have, for a long course of years, lived upon a foot of friendship, which

[5] A son of the Chancellor of that name, and Captain in the King of Prussia's guards, who had been sent over to England with news of the victory of Torgau. Mitchell gave him letters of introduction, which are very characteristic in their way, to the Duke and Duchess of Newcastle, to the Earl and Countess of Holdernesse, to Mr. Pitt, &c. The terms of expression are varied, as it appears to me, so happily, that if more important matter left me room, I should be tempted to print them as examples of success in dealing with the difficulty implied in the saying, "Difficile est proprie communia dicere."

has never been altered by the different situations we have been in; and I have, moreover, reason to think I was obliged to him in the famous combustion of 1756, and his present behaviour towards me confirms my natural inclination to wish him well.

I have mentioned the two points that occur to me concerning yourself. If there are any other in which I can be of use to you, command me freely; you will find me now, what you have ever known me, your constant, unalterable friend and humble servant,

HOLDERNESSE.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Private and most secret. 4°.

Leipzig, Saturday, 3rd January, 1761.

MY LORD,

It gives me the deepest concern to acquaint your Lordship that I see yet no appearance of making up the breach between the King of Prussia and his brother Prince Henry, which, if it lasts, will have the worst of consequences.

I have laboured underhand with the Prussian Ministers here to bring about a reconciliation, but they have made no progress. They are well disposed, but timid, even in matters where fear of offending ought not to operate.

His Prussian Majesty has never once named his brother to me, and I thought it my duty not to seem to know anything of the difference between them.

The very harsh manner in which the country of Saxony is treated fills me with horror, though there is now the fatal plea of necessity for adopting measures which were practised before that necessity existed.

After what the King of Prussia has done, nothing may appear impossible ; but I foresee infinite difficulty upon two very material points, viz., that of recruiting the army, and of providing for their subsistence during the next campaign. When I have got farther information, I shall write more explicitly.

Notwithstanding the present most perillous and precarious state of the King of Prussia's officers, and the dangers to which his scattered dominions must unavoidably be exposed in the next campaign, I have never once heard him drop the least word tending to show that, for the sake of peace, he was willing to make any sacrifice or cession of territory, though I have often industriously turned the conversation that way.

The sufferings of the King of Prussia's subjects in Brandenbourg, Silesia, and other provinces, have been so great that I fear he will be able to draw very little from those provinces for the support of his army during the ensuing campaign. What resources he may have to supply this defect, besides the revenues of Saxony, are unknown to me.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Leipzig, Wednesday, 7th January, 1761.

My Lord,

Since I dispatched Collins the messenger on the 3rd instant, I have no letters from your Lordship. Everything remains in the same situation as mentioned in my former letters, and the weather still continues mild and open without any appearance of frost, which, in the present conjuncture, is wished for with great anxiety, for reasons known to your Lordship.

I have this instant received notice that the garrison of *Duderstadt* had retired upon the approach of a considerable body of French, being reinforced by Monsieur de Killmansegg, had returned to that place and again made themselves master of it, and that they had taken ten officers and one hundred and fifty men prisoners. Prince Ferdinand still has his quarter at *Uslar*.

I am informed that the King of Prussia has made a demand of two millions of crowns upon this town, a sum much exceeding their force, as many of the richest merchants are retired from this place; and the day before yesterday fifty or sixty merchants were arrested and carried to the town-house, where they still are, for nothing is yet agreed upon. This affair cannot fail to make a great noise all over Europe, as the merchants were arrested four days after the fair was opened,

notwithstanding a solemn declaration made for their protection, and the immunity of the fair.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Leipzig, Sunday, 11th January, 1761.

MY LORD,

Since my last, of the 7th, there are no letters from England, and here there is nothing new of any sort.

The King of Prussia has not stirred out of his chamber since the 1st instant, and I conjecture, from his not wearing boots, that he feels a little of the gout in one of his legs, but in other respects he appears perfectly well, is chearfull, and feeds as usual, though I have reason to think he is taking some medicine privately, but this nobody about him will own.

The young Prince of Prussia and his brother are to return to-morrow to Magdeburg; they are both very amiable and promising princes, and they have been received and treated by their uncle, during their stay here, with the greatest marks of tenderness and affection.

The affair of the contribution for this town is not yet settled, but I hear the demand is diminished from two millions to eleven hundred thousand crowns, which sum the merchants still say they are not able to pay.

We have had frost for some days past; if it continues, I hope to send your Lordship good news.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Private.

Leipzig, Friday, 16th January, 1761.

MY LORD,

In my secret letter of the 21st of December, I acquainted your Lordship that I had made representations to the King of Prussia in behalf of the county of Mansfeld, and town and *baillage* of Sangerhausen, hypothecated [mortgaged] to his late Majesty. I inclose your Lordship a copy of my letter to the King of Prussia, marked No. 1, and of his Prussian Majesty's answer, No. 2, which your Lordship will observe contains a sort of apology for what had passed, and therefore, I imagined, would have made every thing easy for the future; but, to my great disappointment, I found I had to do with commissaries who compose the *Grand Directoire de Guerre*, and who have not the least feeling for honour, humanity, truth, or good faith. In a word, to give your Lordship some idea of those commissaries, suppose the whole body of attornies in England assembled, and four of the most abandoned of them to be picked out, they could not, in the management of an affair, have exerted more trick and *chicane* than the Prussian commissaries have done with your humble servant, till, at length

provoked and tired out with this infamous procedure, I found it necessary to address myself again to the King of Prussia. No. 3 is a copy of my letter on that occasion; No. 4, of his Prussian Majesty's answer to the same.

But as the execution of the King of Prussia's intentions still depended upon the *Grand Directoire de Guerre*, the orders they issued were so slow and imperfect, that I have lived for a fortnight past in an open state of war with them: they disputed with me, village after village, upon the most frivolous and absurd pretences; yet, as I have hitherto got the better of them in every question, I did not think it proper to importune his Prussian Majesty any farther at this time; but, in order to put an end to all cavilling, and to know with certainty what places are really comprehended in the Hypotheque, I have dispatched Cleverly the messenger to Hanover, and your Lordship has inclosed a copy of my letter to Monsieur de Munchhausen, desiring him to send me an exact specification of the lands in Saxony hypothecated to his late Majesty. This I thought the most natural method to procure justice to the King and some ease and quiet to myself, which, at present, I stand much in need of.

The demands of contributions of all sorts made by the Prussians in Saxony are most exorbitant, and far exceeding the abilities of the country to comply with, so that many of the subjects are now actually under military execution, equally ruinous to the country, and to the officers employed upon that service, who, when

they have once tasted the sweets of plunder, cease to be soldiers.

I have ever avoided entering into any detail, or, indeed, of making any exact enquiry into the measures his Prussian Majesty judged proper to follow for the subsistence of his army; but, in the present case, the protection I thought due to the lands hypothecated to the King has brought to my knowledge facts that I cannot think of without horror.

I trouble your Lordship with this long letter, that his Majesty may be informed of everything that has passed; and as I had no direction whatever to guide me in the steps I have taken, it will be a great satisfaction to me to know whether his Majesty approves of my conduct in this affair.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Leipzig, Wednesday, 21st January, 1761.

MY LORD,

Since my last, of the 16th, sent by the way of Hanover, I have no letter from your Lordship, and nothing material has happened here since that time. The King of Prussia continues still to keep his chamber, but, in other respects, seems to be in very good health. Monsieur Cocceij, that carried the news of the battle of *Torgau* to the King, arrived here last night.

His Prussian Majesty told me this day at dinner that he had yesterday received a letter from Prince Ferdinand,

which gave him hopes that that Prince would begin to move the end of this month or the beginning of the next; but he mentioned no farther particulars, and said nothing of the assistance he intended to give Prince Ferdinand; and I thought it improper to ask any question, as there was a third person at table.

It is reported in town that the French army were beginning to move, in order, as is said, to prevent Prince Ferdinand's making any attempt upon Cassel. Another report likewise prevails here, which I shall be very sorry to be able to confirm in my next; viz., that Hubertsburg, a hunting-seat of the King of Poland's, distant five miles from hence, has been plundered by the King of Prussia's order.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Private and most secret.

Leipzig, Saturday, 31*st January,* 1761.

MY LORD,

I have learnt by accident that in the Prussian dispatch of the 3rd instant, there was transmitted to Monsieur de Knyphausen an estimate of the expence of a corps of forty thousand men upon the Prussian establishment.

This paper was artfully concealed from me, but I have since had a sight of it, and it appears to be greatly overcharged; your Lordship will therefore (if that paper ever should become matter of discussion

in England) not rely upon the calculations contained in it.

I thought proper to give your Lordship this hint, which, however, I hope will be carefully concealed from the Prussian Ministers in England; and your Lordship may be assured that when I am able to write with precision upon this subject, you shall be more particularly informed.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Leipzig, Monday, 23rd February, 1761.

MY LORD,

To my letter of yesterday's date, I have only to add the copy of a note which the King of Prussia sent me this morning in his own handwriting :—

"Mes troupes ont chassé des environs d'Eisenach et Gotha les cercles qui venoient au secours des Saxons. Lucner a encore attaqué Steinville aupres de Vacha. Leur a pris six canons, beaucoup de prisonniers, et a dispersé tout le corps de serte qu'il ne faut plus douter qu'ils ne soient a present maitres de Hirschfeld et du dernier magazin qui reste aux Francois dans la Hesse.

"FR."

There are yet no direct accounts from Prince Ferdinand, but the report concerning the surrender or taking of Cassel seems to gain credit.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Leipzig, 28th February, 1761.

I HAVE too often had occasion to mention to your Lordship my bad state of health: some weeks ago the King of Prussia said to me that he feared I should not be able to make the next campaign, and hinted my going to Magdebourg so soon as the armies should take the field; to which I answered that I hoped I should be able still to attend his Majesty.

Though my health is somewhat mended, yet sensible that I am not in a condition to resist the fatigues of a campaign which will in all probability be as active as the last, I must entreat the favour of your Lordship to lay me at the King's feet, and humbly to desire his Majesty that he will be graciously pleased to dispense with that part of my duty, which I believe absolutely impossible for me to perform,—I mean my following the King of Prussia into the field; at the same time, though I do not see any great utility I can be of at Magdebourg, I submit entirely to his Majesty's pleasure.

Andrew Stone, Esq. (the Duke of Newcastle's Secretary) to Mr. Mitchell.

Whitehall, March 3rd, 1761.

DEAR SIR,

At the request of Mr. Lockhart, of Carnwath, I forward the inclosed letters to you, the one (as you will

see) address'd to yourself, the other to his son, Colonel James Lockhart, an officer in the Austrian service, supposed to be now at Glatz with Prince Waldech's regiment, which he commands, as Lieutenant-Colonel. I leave Mr. Lockhart's letter to his son open, as I received it : I am desired to seal it, but think it highly proper that you should be acquainted with the full contents of a letter that you are desired to convey to an officer in an enemy's army. Upon the perusal of it, you will be so well informed of the occasion of writing it, that it is unnecessary for me to give you any trouble upon the subject. The eldest son, by whose death Colonel Lockhart becomes heir to the estate of the family, was that unfortunate young man who went into the rebellion in 1745, was attainted by Act of Parliament, and has ever since been an exile ; and his death cannot be consider'd as a misfortune to his family. I am persuaded you will think Mr. Lockhart acts very prudently in recalling Colonel Lockhart, now his eldest son, from the service he is now engaged, in which, I have heard, he has gain'd great credit : and I doubt not but you will take the first opportunity of complying with Mr. Lockhart's request, by conveying, in a safe manner, the inclosed letter to him ; and it would be a great satisfaction to the father if you could procure a line from his son, acknowledging the receipt of his orders. I shall hope to be favour'd with an answer by the first opportunity, under cover to Mr. Larpent, at Lord Holdernesse's office; and if you write to Mr. Lockhart, be pleased to inclose your letter to me, and I will

take care to forward it to him, who will undoubtedly wait with great impatience to receive an answer to his letter.

Having troubled you so long upon this subject, I will not trust myself to begin upon any other, but shall conclude with the assurances of my being ever, with the same truth and regard that I have always profess'd for you,

Dear Sir,

Your most obedient

And most faithful humble servant,

ANDREW STONE.

P.S.—You will be pleased to seal the letter to Colonel Lockhart before you send it to him, and not mention that you received it open.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Private and most secret.

Leipzig, Wednesday, 11*th March,* 1761.

MY LORD,

After the conversation I had yesterday with the King of Prussia, of which I have given your Lordship an account in my secret letter of this date, I confess I was surprised to find that his Prussian Majesty had asked the sum of five millions of crowns for the maintenance of a corps of thirty thousand men, when, by the estimates transmitted some time ago to the Prussian Ministers in England, the expense for forty thousand men is valued only at five millions nine

hundred forty-three thousand ninety-three crowns or rix-dollars. I therefore conclude that the King of Prussia does not expect that his whole demand is to be granted.

In my private and most secret letter to your Lordship of the 31st January, I mentioned certain estimates for a corps of forty thousand men, which had been transmitted to the Prussian Ministers in England. I had then just seen them, but since that time I have been able to find, I am warranted to say that they are overcharged about one-fourth upon the whole. The first suspicion I had of the unjustness of those accompts arose from the knowledge I have of some of the persons concerned in making them up, and for your Lordship's farther satisfaction I have inclosed copies of those estimates. I thought it my duty to inform your Lordship of this, without descending into minute particulars.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Private. 4°.

11*th March*, 1761.

YOUR Lordship will pardon my writing this by the hand of my secretary; my physician, who is likewise the King of Prussia's, has strictly forbid me all labour of this kind for some days.

I find my health so much impaired by the frequent

returns of a fever I have had upon me since the month of August last, that I fear I shall not be able to go through the fatigues of the ensuing campaign; this is likewise the opinion of my physician.

I must therefore desire the favour of your Lordship to acquaint his Majesty with my present situation, and most humbly to entreat that the King will be pleased to dispense with my attempting that part of my duty (I mean, following the King of Prussia into the field) which I am convinced I am unable to perform.

Some weeks ago, the King of Prussia said to me, that he thought, considering my uncertain state of health, I had better go to Magdebourg as soon as the army should begin to remove; but then, as I had hopes of a more perfect recovery, I answered, I flattered myself I should be able to attend him one campaign more. I beg the favour of your Lordship to let me know his Majesty's pleasure as soon as possible, that I may take my measures accordingly.

Mr. Mitchell to the Duke of Newcastle.

Leipzig, 22nd March, 1761.

I HAVE nothing to trouble your Grace with by this messenger but a packet of Felton turnip seed, reckoned the best in Germany, which I have received from Mr. Cocceij the younger, who is extremely sensible of your Grace's goodness to him during his stay in England. He could not himself write to your Grace, being suddenly ordered to Meissen.

My health is a little mended, and I have been on horseback, but still fear that it is not in my power to undertake the next campaign. I will not importune your Grace, because

I am, most affectionately,

Your Grace's, &c.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Bute.

Meissen, Monday, 13th April, 1761.

My Lord,

Last Thursday I had the honour of your Lordship's letter of the 27th of March by post, notifying to me that the King had been pleased to deliver the seals of the northern province to your Lordship. Permit me on this occasion most heartily to wish your Lordship joy of this distinguished mark of the King's confidence, and to assure your Lordship that I shall, to the best of my abilities, obey the orders I may, from time to time, be honoured with from your Lordship.

On Friday the 10th, Johnson the messenger arrived at Leipzig, and delivered to me your Lordship's dispatch of the 1st. As I thought it of importance that no time should be lost in communicating the contents of it to the King of Prussia, I immediately set out for this place, where I arrived last Saturday; and the same evening I had the honour of putting into his Prussian Majesty's own hands the copy of the *Declaration of his most Christian Majesty of the 26th of March*, 1761, transmitted to me by your Lordship, as also a copy of the

Projet de la Contre Declaration au Nom et de la Part de leurs Majestés Britannique et Prussienne, &c., which the King of Prussia was pleased to approve of; and though he said at the same time that he expected no good from the Congress at *Augsbourg*, he has since acquainted me that he has named for his ministers at Congress Monsieur de Plotho, now at Ratisbone, and Monsieur de Haezler, formerly his minister in Denmark.

Since my last to the Earl of Holdernesse, of the 1st instant, a strong Prussian detachment, under the command of Generals Schenkendorff and Seybourg, attacked, on the 3rd, part of the army of the Empire near *Saalfeld*, and took, with hardly any loss, six cannon, four colours, and about nine hundred prisoners, among whom are thirty officers; and on the 6th, another detachment of Prussians attacked the corps under General Guasco near *Plauen* in the Voigtland, and took some cannon and two hundred prisoners; but in this last affair Major Hunt, an officer of the hussars, was killed; and I hear that the corps under Guasco is since retired towards *Egra*.

His Prussian Majesty continues his head quarter here, and the troops are not yet encamped. Those in the distant quarters have received orders to approach, and it is said that towards the end of the month the King of Prussia will pass the *Elbe* at *Torgau*, as the bridge will be by that time finished. If reports may be credited, Prince Henry is destined to command the army in Saxony, but I am sorry to observe to your Lordship

that the two brothers have not yet met, though the Prince arrived fifteen days ago at *Berlin*.

As my health is still very infirm, the King of Prussia has desired me to return to *Leipzig*, where I propose to stay till his Prussian Majesty sends for me, or till the orders I may receive from your Lordship shall require my personal attendance.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Bute.

Private, per Johnson.

Meissen, 14th April, 1761.

I AM honoured with your Lordship's most obliging letter of the 27th, in your own hand, for which accept of my most sincere thanks. Nothing can be more kind than the friendly and affectionate manner you recall to mind the incident of our first acquaintance, nor more generous than the offer of service you are pleased to make me, of which I should be unworthy if I was capable of neglecting or abusing your generosity.

The favour, therefore, that at present I ask of your Lordship, is to be known to you in business ; and if I have the happiness to obtain your approbation, what farther favours may be wanted will, I hope, come of your Lordship, and without solicitation, which to me will double the value of them.

I have taken the first opportunity of saying to the King of Prussia what your Lordship had said in a much

better manner in your letter; and I have the pleasure to acquaint you that the monarch appeared much pleased with what you directed me to say. He added, that your character for learning and abilities rendered you still more respectable than the great office you held, and desired me to make his compliments to you, and to assure your Lordship that he was very sensible of this early mark of your Lordship's attention and regard to him.

I have the honour to be, with equal sincerity and respect,

Your Lordship's, &c.

Mr. Mitchell to Mr. Weston.

Meissen, 14th April, 1761.

DEAR SIR,

I am favoured with your obliging letter of the 31st March, which at once surprised and pleased me. I am glad to find that your state of health is such as will permit you again to venture into a painfull walk, from which you had retired full of honour and of public approbation; and I am pleased beyond expression that my Lord Bute (whom I may call a very, very old friend) has placed his confidence in you: his Lordship and the public will be equally benefitted.

My health is still bad; and if I had not thought the dispatches of the 1st inst. of the utmost importance to be quickly answered, I would not have ventured on the journey, which, however, has done me no harm. I accept with gratitude the kind offer you make me:

your attention and assistance will be of the greatest utility to me, and my affairs stand much in need of such a friend; but I will not abuse your goodness, and I only fear that my correspondence may diminish the favourable opinion you have hitherto had of me.

The following letter from Mitchell to the Earl of Bute shows what sort of return all Mitchell's many and hard services had met with from his Majesty's Ministers, who "lived at home at ease." It was a return very like that which his friend Duncan Forbes of Culloden had met with for *his* great and perilous services. That age has been called an age of baseness, yet among its most abject spirits the Ministers who could thus reward such services appear to merit a pre-eminence of reprobation or contempt.

Leipzig, 29th April, 1761.

Mr. Weston having acquainted me that his Majesty, upon your Lordship's representation, had been graciously pleased to augment my quarterly bills of extraordinaries, I cannot longer defer returning your Lordship my most hearty thanks for the same; and give me leave to observe that this favour has been greatly heightened by the noble, generous, and friendly manner in which it has been bestowed.

After what your Lordship has done, unasked and unsolicited by me, I should be wanting to myself and to your Lordship's proffered friendship and protection, if I concealed from you an affair that has unexpectedly

given me some uneasiness, and which I flatter myself is in your Lordship's power to remove.

Some years ago I wrote to such of his late Majesty's Ministers as I was in correspondence with, to ask for one of the vacant red ribbons. The answers I had were as favourable as I could wish; I therefore waited with patience and avoided importuning those who professed themselves my friends, the event of which has been that I am left out of the late promotion. I own, my Lord, an early and well-timed refusal would not have hurt me much; but after being nursed with expectation, I feel what has happened, and one circumstance (unknown to the King's Ministers in England) renders the disappointment greater. His late Majesty was pleased to tell Mr. Cocceij that he intended one of the vacant ribbons for me; this that gentleman told me on his return from England: I cautioned secrecy, but secrets of that sort are rarely kept, and though I have never mentioned my pretension to any mortal here, I find it is too well known, and I fear will be considered as a mark of his Majesty's disapprobation of my conduct, which I confess mortifies me extremely.

Your Lordship will pardon the liberty I have taken to state this affair as briefly and fairly as possible, persuaded as I am that his Majesty never was acquainted with the circumstances attending it, and leave to your Lordship to do therein what you think best, to which I cheerfully submit, and ever am most sincerely and respectfully

Your's, &c.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Bute.

Private, p. m.

Magdeburg, Tuesday, 1st September, 1761.

My Lord,

Mr. Weston will have informed your Lordship of the cause of my long silence, which some weeks I had reason to think would have been eternal. I am still very weak, but, as the fever has left me, I hope soon to be in a condition to obey any orders I may receive from your Lordship.

Lord Harcourt will inform your Lordship of the intention I had of paying my duty to the Queen as she passed at Perleberg, which was rendered impracticable by the violence and obstinate continuance of my fever.

I am not yet strong enough to be able to make use of the cypher, and my secretary was taken ill some days ago, so I have avoided entering into any particular detail of what passed between Count Finckenstein, in relation to your Lordship's dispatch of the 18th, and the papers it contained.

I cannot conceal from your Lordship that I am under the greatest anxiety of mind for the King of Prussia. His situation in Silesia is such, since the junction of the Austrian and Russian armies, as renders an action almost unavoidable.

But, on the other hand, that monarch's situation, critical as it is, seems less dangerous than it was last year before the battle of Lignitz. He then had the whole Austrian army against him, and was ten German

miles distant from his magazines, with bread only for twenty-four hours for his army. Now he is in the midst of his magazines and fortresses, and has to do with a combined army of Austrians and Russians, where it will be difficult to entertain harmony for any considerable time. I therefore flatter myself that, provided our stock of patience be not too soon exhausted, things will still go well in Silesia.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to Mr. Weston.

p. m.

SIR, *Magdeburg, Tuesday, 8th September,* 1761.

As there are no letters from Silesia, since my last to Lord Bute of the 5th, and nothing has happened in Saxony, I do not write to his Lordship by this post.

I thought myself quite well, and recovering strength daily, but, unhappily, five or six days ago I was seized with a violent fever, which, having intermitted, though not regularly, I have now begun to take the bark, and hope by that means to get rid of it. My last letter to Lord Bute was wrote whilst I had the cold fit upon me, which will, I hope, be an excuse for all the blunders and omissions in it.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Bute.

Magdeburg, Saturday, 31st October, 1761.

My Lord,

Since my last of the 27th, there are no letters from England.

The accounts from *Colberg*, by the way of *Stettin*, are so various and contradictory, that I do not think them worth transmitting to your Lordship. I cannot help, however, observing, that I am in pain for the Prussian army before that place: their number is greatly inferior to the joint force of Romanzow and Butterlin; and their subsistence precarious, as the different corps of Russians have cut off the communication with *Stettin*, where the magazines are. There is, indeed, one topic of consolation still remaining, that the Russians, in the whole course of this war, have never improved the advantages they have gained, and have, constantly, become inactive, in the very moment when everything was in their power. The truth of this assertion I can illustrate by many examples, and shall be happy to be able to add one more to the number.

There are letters from the King of Prussia of the 24th. He still continues at *Strehlin*, and seemed then to believe that Butterlin had marched towards the *Vistula*.

General Loudon having detached a body of troops, his Prussian Majesty sent a reinforcement to the garrison of *Glogau*, as it was apprehended an attempt might be made on that place; but the Austrian corps having moved towards *Fridenberg* on the *Queisse*, gives

ground to think that that detachment will march through Lusatia, into Saxony, to join the army of Marshal Daun.

I have received letters from Prince Henry of the 28th, which mention that the Austrians are making *abatis de bois* on the side of *Freyberg;* that they had made several alterations in their position; that, he thinks, at one time, they intended to attack, but seem now to have changed their plan; and the Prince has had notice that a detachment was marched from General Loudon's army, which, he believes, will come into Saxony.

I must now mention to your Lordship an incident, which cannot fail to highten the animosity, already too great, between the Austrian and Prussian Courts, and which, in its consequences, must fall heavy upon the innocent and unfortunate officers of both nations.

Some time ago, Monsieur de la Mothe Fouqué, General of Infantry, in the King of Prussia's service, who was taken prisoner last year at *Landshut*, was removed from his place of residence, in the hereditary countries, to *Carlstadt* in *Croatia*, where he is not imprisoned nor ill used. The reason given for his being separated from the other prisoners, is said to be, because of some impertinent and abusive expressions made use of in a paper signed and delivered by him, and which was transmitted to the Court of Vienna. So soon as his Prussian Majesty had notice of what had happened, he ordered Lieutenant-Generals Gemminque, Tirheim, and Anger, and Major-General

Viteleschi, to be forthwith confined to the citadel of Magdeburg, by way of reprisal for the removal of General Fouqué; but this order could not immediately be executed, there being no empty rooms in the citadel for the reception of the prisoners: some chambers have since been prepared, which they now actually occupy.

The right of reprisal in the present case is doubted by some, and the measure, in general, every circumstance considered, is looked upon as ill-timed, too strong, harsh, and imprudent; for the Court of Vienna may, if they please, make ample reprisals upon the Prussian officers, of whom they have great store. This step has already occasioned much ill-humour among the Austrian officers that are prisoners, and cannot fail to have an effect upon the minds of the Prussians, who may have the misfortune to be taken during the course of this campaign.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Bute.

Magdeburg, Saturday, 12th December, 1761.

MY LORD,

Since my last, of the 8th, I am honoured with your Lordship's dispatch of the 27th of November, and I shall endeavour, to the best of my power, to execute the orders it contains.

I have seen letters of the 7th instant from *Strehlen*, which give an account of a plot formed to surprise the

King of Prussia in his quarter, the particulars of which are as follows.

A Silesian gentleman, of the name of Wargotsch, who has an estate near *Strehlen*, came often to the Prussian camp, where he was well received by the King of Prussia and by the officers. He informed himself with great exactness of everything that passed in the army, and particularly of the disposition made of the troops in their quarters of cantonment; and as the country thereabout was well known to him, he formed a project of surprising the King of Prussia in the night of the 1st of December, which was to have been executed in this manner. A small body of resolute cavalry were to penetrate in the night into the suburbs of *Strehlen*, where his Prussian Majesty lodged, to which they were immediately to set fire, and during the confusion that this must necessarily occasion, to endeavour to seize and carry off the King of Prussia, which Wargotsch thought very practicable, as the quarters were but slightly guarded; and, at all events, those who made the attempt run hardly any other risk than that of being made prisoners of war.

Whether Wargotsch corresponded with any of the Austrian Generals does not yet appear, but the whole affair was accidentally discovered by one of his own servants, who had often been employed to carry letters to a Popish priest in a neighbouring village. The letters were directed to an Austrian Lieutenant-Colonel, of the name of Wallis, and the priest had the care of transmitting them. The servant, observing when his

master gave him the last letter, that he was uncommonly anxious about the safe delivery of it, and appeared to be in great agitation of mind, begun to suspect that he was employed in a dangerous service; however, he took the letter and promised to deliver it as usual; but, his suspicions growing as he travelled, he resolved to go directly to *Strehlen*, where he put the letter into the hands of Monsieur de Crusemark, the Adjutant-General, who immediately sent out two small parties of dragoons to seize Wargotsch and the priest, both whom were made prisoners; but, by a negligence which cannot be accounted for, they let them both escape. However, it is said that the letter and the servant's deposition, corroborated by other circumstances, afford so strong a proof against Wargotsch, that he will be convicted in absence before the Tribunal, called the *Ober Ampt*, in *Breslaw*, where his tryal is already begun: I heartily wish that this may serve as a warning to the King of Prussia to be more circumspect for the future, having often with concern observed so much negligence on the part of that Prince with respect to the security of his person, that I am only surprised an attempt of this kind has not been made sooner.

It is thought that by this time the King of Prussia must have gone into *Breslaw*, but there is yet no account of the quarters he has assigned to his army during the winter.

I am informed a very great number of horses have been purchased in Poland for recruiting the cavalry and artillery, who have suffered prodigiously during this

campaign, as well from scarcity of forrage, as from the inclemency of the weather.

Prince Henry still continues at *Barnitz*, but as the season is become extremely rigorous, he has put part of his army into quarters of cantonment in the villages behind his line ; and I hear he has sent for the shops, or booths, used by the merchants of Leipzig, in the time of their fairs, which are to serve as guard-rooms for the shelter of the troops whilst on duty.

The *Elbe* is now quite froze over, and I cannot help fearing that if the frost continues, it will invite Marshal Daun once more to become active, as the free passage of the river may greatly facilitate his operations.

Letters of the 9th instant have just come in from the Duke of Bevern. He says the fortress of Colberg still continues to make a brave defence ; that the Russians lately made a new attempt to take the place by storm, but they were repulsed with loss ; that the Duke of Wurtemberg had entrenched himself near *Treptow*, with an intention to throw in provisions, &c., into *Colberg*.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Bute.

Separate.

Magdeburg, Saturday, 12th December, 1761.

MY LORD,

In obedience to his Majesty's commands, signified to me in your Lordship's separate letter of the

27th of November, I have applyed to Count Finckenstein, in the King's name, to desire that a stop may be put to the ravages which are complained of by the Duke of Mecklenbourg Schwerin, as having been exercised by the Prussian troops in the dominions of that Prince, which his Majesty wished might be treated with less rigour for the future, and I have assured the Count that the King would take very kindly any instance of the King of Prussia's regard to his recommendation in that particular.

Monsieur de Finckenstein answered, that he should not fail to represent to the King his master, and that without loss of time, every thing I had said to him concerning this affair; that he was persuaded the King of Prussia would have the greatest attention and regard to his Majesty's recommendation; but added, confidentially, he was sorry to say the Duke of Mecklenbourg Schwerin had, from the beginning of the war, acted with too much rancour, and shewn too much zeal against the interests of the King his master.

To this I replyed, that his Majesty's warm recommendation appeared to me a sufficient guarantee that the Duke of Mecklenbourg intended, for the future, to give his Prussian Majesty no just ground of complaint.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

CHAPTER XIV.

DISPATCHES IN 1762 ON RUSSIAN AFFAIRS—THE EMPEROR'S MURDER, ETC.—DISPATCH FROM LORD BUTE AS TO THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE SUBSIDY TO FREDERIC.

THE dispatches in this chapter contain some curious details respecting Russian affairs on the death of the Empress Elizabeth, and the accession of the Emperor Peter III. (two events which had so important an influence on the Seven Years' War, and the fate of Frederic and Prussia); and, also, respecting the accession of the Empress Catherine, and the deposition and murder of Peter. There will also be found in this chapter an important dispatch from the Earl of Bute, dated St. James's, May 26th, 1762, which furnishes very good arguments in favour of the withdrawal of the subsidy to Frederic, for which withdrawal, Lord Bute has been in some quarters so much abused. These arguments M. Von Raumer, in his Frederic II. and his Times,[1] attempts to answer. But he naturally thinks and feels as a German on the subject, on which he will not, I apprehend, find many Englishmen of the present days of financial reform to agree with him. On the contrary, he will find that most Englishmen now have gone back

[1] Page 383.

to the opinion of Edward the Third, who ordered a record to be entered, that *subsidia Germanorum in pace onerosa in bello inutilia.*

Under date 10th January, 1762, Frederic thus writes to Mitchell from Breslaw :—"J' espere que votre santé se sera remise apressent ; elle m' auroit fort inquieté cet eté, mais nous avons apris votre reconvallaissence avans de savoir la dangér ou vous vous etes trouvé : vous etes de ces perssones au quels les honnetes gens qui vous conoîssent doivent tout prendre part a les savoir conservéz et heureux.

"FEDERIC."

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Bute.

MY LORD, *Magdeburg, Saturday, 30th January,* 1762.

Since my last of the 26th, I have no letter from England, and there is nothing worth transmitting to your Lordship from Silesia, nor from Saxony.

Last Wednesday, the 27th, Monsieur Gowdowitz, Brigadier, Chamberlain, and Adjutant-General to Peter the Third of Russia, arrived here from Petersbourg, being provided with a passport from Mr. Keith ; he passed through the Prussian territory without molestation. He is sent with the news of the late Empress's death[2] to the Prince of Zerbst, and he had directions to pass by Magdeburg.

[2] The Empress Elizabeth of Russia died on the 5th of January, 1762. It is curious that Frederic, who had every facility for being accurate at least in this date, says, in his *Hist. de la Guerre de Sept Ans,* that she died on the 8th of January, 1762.—See ante, Vol. i. pp. 107, 108.

Soon after his arrival he waited on Count Finckenstein and delivered to him a letter for the King of Prussia, signed by the new Emperor, notifying the death of the late Empress. He then made me a visit and gave me a letter from Mr. Keith, of the 8th instant, and after some general conversation, he told me he was to be presented that night to the Queen of Prussia, though he had no letter of notification for her Majesty; he then expressed to me the perplexity in which he was, for want of knowing where the Prince of Zerbst was, whether with the Austrian army in Saxony, at Vienna, or at Paris. I advised him immediately to dispatch an Estaffette to Zerbst, (which is but four miles distant,) by the return of which he probably would have certain information where that Prince was to be found; to this he agreed.

I asked the Brigadier whether, on the 12th, the day he left Petersbourg, the foreign ministers had leave to dispatch their couriers, he answered, he believed not. He then told me that the Empress died on the 5th instant, in the afternoon, about three o'clock; that a few hours after, the generals, ministers, as well as the regiments of guards, took the oaths of fidelity to the new Emperor, who ascended the throne with general approbation, and without the least trouble or commotion of any sort; that the following days Peter the Third made several promotions, gave ribbans, and other marks of favour indiscriminately, and without distinctions of such as had or had not been his friends when Great Duke; that the two Schuwalows, Peter and Alexander,

were made Feldt Marshals ; but it was thought Peter Schuwalow could not live many days, he having been long ill of a complicated distemper. That the Emperor immediately on his accession had done many acts of grace, and particularly, that he had released Count Hordt, a Swedish gentleman in the King of Prussia's service, who, some years ago, was taken prisoner by the Russians, and had been, at the instigation of Sweden, detained a close prisoner ever since ; that Mr. Keith was in high favour with the Emperor and Empress, who both had the greatest regard for the King, and loved the English nation. I said everything I thought could please and was suitable on this occasion, which, however, is really not worth transmitting to your Lordship.

Monsieur de Gowdowitz set out from hence this morning for Zerbst. I have, during his stay here, shewn him every civility in my power, of which he seemed highly sensible.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

P.S.—I hear Prince George of Holstein Gottorp, brother to the King of Sweden, is appointed by Peter the Third Stadtholder of Holstein, with a considerable pension. He quitted the Prussian service last year, on account of some disgust ; but I am well informed that his attachment to his Prussian Majesty still continues.

A. M.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Bute.

Secret.

Magdeburg, Saturday, 30th January, 1762.

My Lord,

Mr. Keith's letter of the 8th instant, of which a copy is here inclosed, appeared to me of such infinite consequence, that I immediately translated it into French, and gave a copy to Count Finckenstein, to be forthwith transmitted to the King of Prussia, desiring that Minister to make use of every argument to induce the King his master to make advances on his part to the new Emperor, who, on this occasion (and in a conjuncture where it was hardly to be expected), had so generously offered his friendship, and seemed to court that of the King of Prussia.

The Count has since read to me his dispatch, which is just as it should be, where, besides the arguments made use of, he suggests to his master what may please the new Emperor, viz., sending a military man to Petersbourg, to felicitate their Imperial Majesties on their accession to the throne; to write to the Emperor directly; to release the Russian prisoners; to spare the country of Zerbst from contributions, which has not hitherto been the case; and, in one word, to do every thing that can induce that Court to quit the alliance.

I shall now give your Lordship an account of some private conversation I have had with Brigadier Gowdowitz. In talking of the uncertainty he was in about finding the Prince of Zerbst, he said, if that

Prince was in Saxony, or at *Vienna*, he would go directly to him; but, if he was in France, as he had no orders to go thither, he would dispatch a courier to Petersbourg, and wait for his return at Zerbst. I commended his resolution of keeping strictly to his instructions, and offered to furnish a passport to his courier, for which he thanked me very heartily.

The Brigadier is no friend to the French, and he assures me his master loves the English much better, and that he will shew it. I could not, however, get him to be more particular, nor venture to press him farther on this head.

I have seen a letter from Warsaw, which says that that Court (notwithstanding the declarations made by the new Emperor) is extremely struck with the death of the Empress, and some of the courtiers have been indiscreet enough to say, if she had but lived to the month of May next, every thing would have gone right. This, I think, looks as if a scheme had been forming to cut off the Great Duke from the succession, in which the French, most probably, have had the chief hand, which accounts very naturally for the aversion the new Emperor has expressed to that nation.

In talking of the Austrians, the Brigadier said he thought his nation had done and suffered too much for them; that they had always laid the labouring oar upon the Russians, and he illustrated this by several instances, where their troops had acted jointly, to all which I readily agreed.

Monsieur Gowdowitz commended the King of Prussia,

and expressed great desire to see him. I threw out that I could assure him he would be well received, as I had often heard the King of Prussia speak of the Great Duke with the highest marks of friendship and esteem, and that in case he, Gowdowitz, went to Vienna, he might pass by Breslaw, where the King of Prussia was, and that he would have an opportunity of being known to the greatest Captain of the age. He replyed, that he had no orders to go out of his way to find the King of Prussia, but the Emperor, his master, had given him leave to pay his court to his Prussian Majesty, in case he met him in any of the places he passed through.

I several times gave the Brigadier an opportunity of opening upon the contents of Mr. Keith's letter to me; but as he did not seem disposed to enter into particulars, I was therefore obliged to turn the conversation, which commonly ended with an encomium upon his master, the new Emperor, his military talents and genius, and that he would not fail to raise the glory of the Russian nation.

I communicated to Count Finckenstein every thing material that had passed between the Brigadier and me, and in return that Minister gave me an account of the conversation he had had with that gentleman; the substance of which is as follows:—

The Brigadier delivered to Count Finckenstein a letter of notification, signed by the new Emperor, and addressed to the King of Prussia, which, every circumstance considered, concludes in so very peculiar a manner, that I send inclosed an extract of the latter part of that

letter; the former containing only the titles of the two Princes, and the notification in form. The Count assured me, that in the draft of the answer he was to make, which must be sent to Breslaw, to be signed by the King of Prussia, he would take care not to be behindhand with the Emperor in his professions of friendship, &c., &c. This letter was accompanied with one from the Chancellor Woronzow to Count Finckenstein, which contained nothing material, but was conceived in very civil terms.

The Brigadier told the Count that he had orders to pass by Magdeburg, and if the Count had been at Breslaw, he would have gone thither; that his master, the Emperor, had given him leave to pay his court to the King of Prussia, if he happened to pass where that Monarch was. He mentioned to the Count his going into Saxony, or perhaps to Vienna, to meet the Prince of Zerbst, but that he would not go to France without an order from his Court; and Count Finckenstein offered him passports, in case he thought proper to go into Saxony, or to go to Breslaw in his way to Vienna. He mentioned to the Count the predilection the Emperor had in favour of the English nation, and threw out, at the same time, that his errand was not solely to notify the death of the Empress to the Prince of Zerbst; for that if he, Gowdowitz, had an opportunity of seeing the King of Prussia, he was charged with a commission from the Empress,[3] which, however, he could not com-

[3] N.B.—Count Finckenstein has since told me that Gowdowitz said his commission was from the *Emperor*, not from the *Empress*, which, however, is not material.

municate to any person but his Prussian Majesty. The Count then asked him whether, if the King, his master, desired to see him at *Breslaw*, he would go thither; to which he made no reply.

Last night, Monsieur Gowdowitz came to me and told me that he had received an answer from *Zerbst:* that the Prince was at *Carlsbad* in Bohemia, and that he intended to leave this place next morning: that he should dispatch a courier from Zerbst to Petersbourg, to know the Emperor's pleasure, whether, if the King of Prussia desired to see him, he might go to Breslaw. He then asked of me a passport for himself to return to Petersbourg, and one for the courier he intended to dispatch from Zerbst, both which I have sent him.

I have troubled your Lordship with this very particular detail of every thing that has passed here since the arrival of Monsieur de Gowdowitz, as well to justify my own conduct, as to inform your Lordship of the sentiments of the Court of Petersbourg.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Bute.

Private. 4°.

Magdeburg, 30th January, 1762.

MY LORD,

I have fully informed your Lordship, in my secret letter of this date, of every thing that passed between Brigadier Gowdowitz and me. I cannot help offering a few conjectures, which my zeal for his Majestie's

service makes me wish may be turned into realities, and that your Lordship may have the honour of effectuating this change.

It appears from the postscript to Mr. Keith's letter, of the 8th instant, that the new Emperor certainly intends to make good his pretensions upon Sleswick ; therefore a war with Denmark is highly probable. The sudden, I may say precipitate, order sent to General Chernichew to separate from the Austrians ; the desire of an armistice with the Russians ; the order to make no farther progress into the Prussian dominions ; the advances the Emperor has made towards a reconciliation with the King of Prussia, which are entirely consistent with that Prince's repeated declarations when Grand Duke, shew, I think, beyond doubt that he is tired of the alliance, and that it is his intention to change the system.

The conversation I had with Brigadier Gowdowitz, though he was shy to enter into particulars, fully convince me that the Emperor is angry with France,— whether from resentment for the ill usage he met with whilst Grand Duke, or from other causes, I cannot determine.

I thought I could likewise perceive that the Court of Vienna was not in high favour at Petersbourg ; perhaps the Emperor suspects their having joined with France in the intrigues formed against him whilst Grand Duke ; and what I think still more probable, the Emperor may believe that the Courts of France and Vienna are resolved to support Denmark, which alone does suffi-

ciently account for his coolness and aversion to those Courts.

The repeated and strong declarations made to me by Brigadier Gowdowitz of his master's regard, affection, &c., for England, whose interests he observed were ever the same with that of Russia, satisfy me that it is the intention of the Emperor to court the King's friendship. I wish I could inform your Lordship upon what conditions.

Reflecting upon what is above stated, and supposing it possible to find means to divert for a time the storms breaking upon Denmark, and to engage the new Emperor to give a body of his troops to join the King's army, (which they may do in less than five weeks,) I think it is highly probable the whole face of the war may be altered, and the French, as well as their new associate, the Spaniards, be obliged to sue for peace, whilst the King of Prussia, weakened as he is, will, I hope, be able to defend himself against the whole power of Austria, unassisted by Russia.

I have, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

There is a great number of letters from Prince Henri of Prussia, written in his own hand, which, being far from a very legible one, we give the following as the only one written, on account of severe illness, in another hand, and, therefore, more easily decyphered. The Prince's observations on this circumstance are, the

reader will perceive, extremely complimentary to Mitchell.

Prince Henri to Mr. Mitchell.

MONSIEUR,

J'ay reçu avec autant de reconnoissance que des sentements de joye la lettre du 18 que vous m' avés ecrite. Je suis tres sensible à la confiance, que vous me temoignés, en me faisant part de la lettre interessante de Mr. Keith. Rien ne me tiendra plus à cœur, que d'agir conformement aux bonnes intentions, que vous avés, et lorsque j'ecriray au Roy, il ne tiendra pas à moy, de luy inspirer des sentements de douceur, et des bons procedes, envers l'Empereur de Russie. Je suis fort de l'avis, que le Comte Finckenstein a proposé, que le Roy relachat tous les prisoniers russes. Je souhaitte bien sincerement, qu'il acquiesce à l'ouverture, qui luy en a été faite. Il me semble qu'il ne seroit pas mal non plus d'adoucir les rigueurs, qu'on excerce dans le pai de Zerbst, à quoi je travailleray de mon côte, autant qu'il me sera possible, quoi qu'il me sera tres difficile de faire desister le Roy sur l'article de l'argent et des cheveaux.

Je suis encore en arriere d'une reponse, que je vous dois, j'attendois celle du Comte Odonell relativement à l'affaire du S^r. Sterling, que je n'ay pas reçu encore quoi que je luy ay ecrit depuis dix jours.

Au surplus la maladie qui m' a tenue jusqu' aujourdhuy au lit, m'a aussi empeché de vous ecrire, et m' oblige

aujourdhuy de me servir d'une main etrangere, de quoy je suis bien faché parce que je n'aime rien tant, que de me communiquer avec vous, ce que je fais bien plus librement, lorsque je vous ecris en personne. Je me flatte cependant, de me remettre dans un couple je jours, et de me dedommager allors amplement de la privation, ou je me trouve de vous ecrire aujourdhuy. Les affaires autour de Leipzig ne vont pas trop bien ; le General Platen s'est encore obligé, de se replier hier de Pegan sur Martk Ranstadt ; tout cela ne me tranquillise pas l'esprit.

Je suis avec la consideration la plus distinguée, et l'amitie la plus constante,

Monsieur,

Votre tres affectioné ami et serviteur,

HENRI.

P.S.—Sitot que je seray un peu mieux, je vous renverray la copie de le lettre que vous avès bien voulu me communiquer.

À Hoff, ce 30 de Janvier, 1762.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Bute.

Magdeburg, Sunday, 31st January, 1762.

My Lord,

Last night, whilst my dispatch of yesterday's date was sealing, to go by the post, Count Finckenstein sent me word that he had that instant received letters from the King, his master, and desired to see me as soon as possible. I went immediately to him, and he read to me a short letter from the King of Prussia, dated the 25th instant, from Breslaw, which he said was just come from the office decyphered.

The purport of this letter, as nearly as I can recollect, was (after thanks in very obliging terms to me for the manner in which I had made the insinuation directed in your Lordship's cyphered letter by Mann, of the 8th instant) to assure me that he, King of Prussia, had never thought of treating with any power whatever, without previously acquainting and consulting the King, my master, to whom he had so many and so great obligations : he then directs his minister, Count Finckenstein, to concert with me the means of accommodating and adjusting everything concerning the subsidy to the taste and conveniency of the English Ministers ; and he concludes with saying, though all the accounts he had then had of the dispositions of the new Court of Russia were favourable, and though it was probable that the death of the Empress of Russia would change the face of affairs, yet it was necessary to go *bride en main* till we have direct and certain accounts from Petersbourg.

Count Finckenstein then talked over the plan of instructions he intended to send to the Prussian Ministers in England, which in general I approved, but hinted, as it consisted of many points, I should be glad he would send me a note of them; to which he readily agreed; and I here inclosed transmit a copy of the same, which it was not thought necessary to put into cypher, as this goes by a Prussian courier.

I have nothing to add to the contents of this paper, nor is it necessary to resume the conversation I had with Count Finckenstein on this occasion, as everything that passed now was only a repetition of what I have transmitted to your Lordship in my most secret letter of the 21st instant, by Padmore, to which I take leave to refer.

It may be proper, however, to observe, that no time has been lost, on either part, in transacting this important affair. Mann the messenger, arrived on the 17th of this month, in the night. So soon as it was possible to decypher the letters, I made the insinuation to Count Finckenstein: he wrote to the King, his master, on the 20th; and the King of Prussia's answer, dated from Breslaw, the 25th instant, arrived here yesterday.

As Mr. Keith's letter, of which your Lordship has a copy in my secret letter of yesterday, was dispatched from hence to Breslaw on the 27th, late at night, I think we may have an answer to the King of Prussia's letter in six or seven days, which shall be communicated to your Lordship with all possible expedition.

I wish I had been present when the King of Prussia

read Mr. Keith's letter of the 8th instant, to observe the effect it had upon him : I really believe it is the only letter he, perhaps, ever received that exceeded expectation, and surpassed even his power of imagination. For my own part, I cannot help considering this great and unexpected event as an indication that Providence is resolved, even in the last hour, to save the King of Prussia ; and I have said so to his Ministers, to encourage them, and, at the same time, to banish all sort of chicane from this most important negotiation.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Bute.

Magdeburg, Tuesday, 9th February, 1762.

MY LORD,

The expectation the King of Prussia has had in seeing Monsieur de Gowdowitz at Breslaw, has occasioned the delay of naming anybody to go to Petersbourg ; but it appears, by letters of the 4th, that his Prussian Majesty begins to grow very impatient, and is resolved to dispatch without waiting for the arrival of Gowdowitz. He has for that end desired Count Finckenstein to ask of me three blank passports, assuring, at the same time, that no bad use should be made of them. I instantly complied with the request, and put the Count in mind, that, in the year 1756, I had refused a like request without offending the King of Prussia, but that, as circumstances were now altered,

I was persuaded your Lordship would approve of what I did on this occasion.

I am, &c.,

AND^R. MITCHELL.

The following letter from Mitchell to the Earl of Bute shows with what degree of punctuality the egregious Duke of Newcastle made good his engagement, with all his professions of sincerity, friendship, and so forth.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Bute.

Private, 4°, per Prussian courier.

Magdebourg, 9th February, 1762.

ACCEPT, my Lord, of my most hearty thanks for your kind attention in passing my bill of extra-extraordinaries. It is to your Lordship alone that I am obliged for effectuating at once what I have not been able to bring about in the space of five years.

Allow me to congratulate your Lordship on the happy change of affairs in the north,[4] though, at the same time, I cannot help having some uneasiness, for fear of precipitation and hurry on one part, which, however, I have endeavoured, as much as possible, to prevent.

What has happened on the other part, far surpasses political credibility, and will require much prudence and address to bring it to perfection, without disgusting a nation which has suffered greatly in making conquests with little prospect of profiting by them.

[4] This alludes to the change of measures in Russia, consequent upon the death of the Empress Elizabeth.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Bute.

Magdeburg, Wednesday, 10th February, 1762.
Three o'Clock Afternoon.

My Lord,

I have this instant seen a letter from the King of Prussia, dated the 6th, which says that General Count Chernichew was to separate from the Austrians on the 7th, and to march by Steinau, where he will pass the *Oder*, and continue from thence his march through Poland. Having wrote to your Lordship yesterday by a Prussian courier, I send this by the ordinary post to Holland, which sets out from hence immediately.

I am, &c.,

Andr. Mitchell.

Mr. Mitchell to Mr. Keith, at St. Petersbourg.

4°.

Magdeburg, 10*th February,* 1762.

Sir,

The King of Prussia, making a sort of mystery of the person or persons he intends to send to Petersbourg, had demanded of me blank passports, which I have granted; it may, therefore, be necessary to apprize you of the persons I have heard named for that commission. The first is Baron Goltz, a young gentleman of a fair character, and well spoke of by every body; I am acquainted with him, and have given him a letter for you, in case he should be named. The second is Major-General Lentulus (formerly in the Austrian

service), a tall, handsome Swiss, very weak, very vain, and very indiscreet, but, which is worst of all, a servile flatterer, and capable of reporting to his master the greatest falsehoods, if he thinks they will please him. Of this I had the strongest proofs, when, in the year 1756, Lentulus was sent to England, to give an account of the battle of Lobositz (at which he was not present). On his return into Saxony, he made a most absurd report to the King, his master, concerning the then state of affairs in England, which, after many months' labour and infinite pains, I had at last the good fortune totally to annihilate.

Since that time I have done everything in my power to prevent his making a second journey to England, because I thought it of importance to have honest and fair men named for that commission. As to the General's military qualifications, if you will believe his own story, he is the hero of the army; but, unhappily, the army are of a very different opinion. He has indeed distinguished himself by plundering in Saxony, and was lately in disgrace with the King his master, but recovered ground again by the irresistible power of abject flattery, more fatal to kings than daggers and poison. These are the only two I have yet heard named: if any other are talked of, I shall inform you of their characters as far as they are known to me.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Bute.

Secret.

Magdebourg, Tuesday, 23rd February, 1762.

My Lord,

I look upon this conveyance as absolutely secure, and therefore transmit to your Lordship copies of my letter to the King of Prussia of the 12th, and of his Prussian Majesty's answer of the 17th, which I received yesterday.

I cannot help mentioning to your Lordship some things which give me concern; it appears by letters from Warsaw, as well as by some intercepted letters from Vienna, that both those Courts flatter themselves with hopes of being able to raise disturbances in Russia by the means of the clergy, who they suppose are better affected to Ivan, than to the present Emperor. I shall give Mr. Keith notice of this by the first opportunity. One circumstance which I have but just learnt, though a trifling one, deserves to be mentioned. The three hundred Russians who were here prisoners in the citadel on the first news of the Empress's death began to quarrel and fight among themselves, some in favour of Ivan, and others for the new Emperor, and they continued beating each other very heartily till the Governor of the fortress interposed his authority and separated the contending parties. I have not, however, heard of anything of this spirit having shewn itself in the army of Count Chernichew.

If reports may be credited, the new Emperor has adopted the King of Prussia as his model, and declares

openly to all the world that he intends to live in the strictest union and friendship with his Prussian Majesty: this cannot fail to alarm the foreign Ministers at his Court, and perhaps may indispose a part of his own subjects, who are naturally not the most faithfull, and capable of the deepest dissimulation.

On the other hand, it is to be wished that the King of Prussia was more secret with regard to what is now passing at Petersbourg. He unhappily writes letters of friendship to the Marquis d'Argens, in which he says too much; the Marquis, who is an honest but a weak man, shews (from a principle of vanity) these letters to all his friends, so that in twenty-four hours after they are received, there are many copies of them circulating in Berlin, and I should no wise be surprised to see them in the Dutch Gazettes.

Soon after the battle of Lignitz in the year 1760, when a very extraordinary letter of the King of Prussia to the Marquis d'Argens was circulated all over Europe, I insisted with the Prussian Ministers to acquaint the King their master with the very bad effects this free correspondence might have upon publick affairs: they agreed with me in opinion, but fairly owned that they could not venture to write nor speak to their master upon that subject; and I find the same timidity still continues, for though they are convinced of the utility of what I have often proposed, they are deaf to all representations.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

The King of Prussia's letter of the 17th February, referred to in the preceding letter to Lord Bute :—

Monsieur,

Vous avez raison de presumer, que je recevrai a bras ouverts un ami, tel, que le nouvel Empereur. Les dispositions qu'il a fait paroitre dés le commencement de son Rigne, me paroissent bien favorables, et je ne negligerai sûrement rien, pour me concilier son amitie. L'ordre de l'Aigle Noir ne lui manquera pas, et je me ferai un devoir bien agreable de lui offrir ce premice de mon affection et de mon attachement. Le Baron de Goltz que j'ay envoyé à Petersbourg, et qui, selon mon calcul, pourra y etre rendu vers le 25^{e} de ce mois, lui expliquera plus amplement le desir que j'ai de vivre dans une parfaite union avec lui, et de retablir la paix et la bonne intelligence, qui a subsistee autrefois entre les deux cours. En attendant j'ai beaucoup d'obligation a Mr. Keith des soins qu'il prend pour avancer mes interets a la cour de Russie, et pour m' informer de tout ce qui y est relatif. Je vous prie de lui temoigner toute ma reconnoissance et de le requerir de ma part d'employer tout son savoir faire pour parvenir a l'objet de mes desirs. Quant a vous, Monsieur, je ne saurois assez vous exprimer, combien je suis sensible a toutes les marques d'affection et d'attachement eternel et reconnoissant, et je ne negligerai certainement aucune parfaite que je vous porte. Sur ce je prie Dieu qu'il

vous ait en sa sainte et digne garde. a Breslau, ce 17e Fevrier, 1762.

FEDERIC.

P.S.—En main propre. Voila un Chevalier bien singulier mon cher Monsieur Mitchell qui nourit 80m hommes a mes depens, c'est le seul de mes Chevaliers qui se donne cette liberté là. Si chaqu'un de ceux de la jarretiere en faisoit autant, votre Angleterre, toute Angleterre qu'elle est, seroit mangée. Je vous prie de rendre mon Chevalier plus docile et de lui apprendre que c'est contre l'institut de l'ordre qu'un Chevalier mange son Grand Maitre.

A Mr. Mitchell, a Magdebourg.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Bute.

Separate and secret.

Magdebourg, Tuesday, 2nd March, 1762.

MY LORD,

Count Finckenstein read to me, in confidence, a letter from the King of Prussia, dated the 23rd of February, giving an account of what passed between his Prussian Majesty and Brigadier Hutowiez,[5] the substance of which is as follows :—

The King of Prussia seems very well pleased with the Brigadier, and with the manner in which that gentleman expressed himself in his master's name. He was charged with general but strong protestations of friendship, and to signify the Emperor's good-will and

[5] The name was Gowdowitz in his former letters, and the King of Prussia, in his *Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans,* writes it Goudowitz.

sincere intention to live in perfect union with his Prussian Majesty; but as the Brigadier said nothing of the conditions upon which peace might be re-established, the King of Prussia (having sent Baron Goltz to Petersbourg with ample instructions) contented himself with giving on his part reciprocal assurances of his sincere desire to cultivate a perfect friendship with the Emperor. His Prussian Majesty then expatiated on the arts and intrigues of his enemies, that had induced the late Empress to declare war against him without any just cause of offence.

The King of Prussia wrote a letter with his own hand to the Emperor, which he delivered to the Brigadier, who said to a friend of his before he left Breslaw, that he looked upon affairs as almost settled between his master and the King of Prussia; and I find they consider the Brigadier as perfectly well disposed to the Prussian cause.

I must observe to your Lordship, that as the Brigadier dispatched his courier from *Zerbst* to Petersbourg only on the 2nd of February, and that he himself arrived at Breslaw on the 20th of that month, I think it impossible that he could receive any new instruction from his Court; and when I reflect on the desire that gentleman expressed of seeing the King of Prussia, and on what he said to Count Finckenstein, viz., that he was charged with something from the Emperor, which he could only tell to the King of Prussia in person, and that he refused giving any hint of the same to Count Finckenstein, who urged him again and again with promises of

the strictest secrecy,—I cannot help suspecting that the Brigadier has been charged with something more than general compliments and assurances; and what he dropped to a friend, of affairs being almost settled, induces me to imagine that the Brigadier has, in his master's name, made some specifick demand, to which, I can have no doubt, his Prussian Majesty would readily agree, as, in his present situation, not only his safety but even his very existence depends upon a speedy and thorough reconciliation with Russia.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

P. S. — About two hours ago I received, by an estaffette from Berlin, a letter from Mr. Keith, of the 9th of February, a copy of which I send here inclosed.

A. M.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Bute.

Secret.

Magdebourg, Tuesday, 2nd March, 1762.

MY LORD,

Since I had the honour of your Lordship's letter of the 6th of February, I have acquainted Count Finckenstein that Mr. Keith had received the King's express orders to endeavour to dispose the Emperor of Russia's mind to peace, and to induce him to declare to all powers concerned, his resolution to promote, by every way in his power, a speedy accommodation of the present unhappy troubles, and to employ all his weight and influence, in concert with the King, towards

that end; and I insinuated, at the same time, that his Majesty hoped the King of Prussia would heartily concur in bringing about this good work.

Count Finckenstein assured me that he would take the first opportunity of acquainting the King, his master, with what I had told him; and in the conversation I had with him afterwards, he said he believed the King of Prussia wished for peace, but that the way to attain it, was first to make a separate peace with Russia, in order to get rid of one formidable enemy, and when that was done, it would be time enough to think of the means of bringing about a general pacification, in which he said he had no doubt the King of Prussia would sincerely concur with the King, but that he thought it premature to begin by attempting to negotiate a general peace, which must be a work of time, and might give an opportunity to our enemies, perhaps, to seduce and debauch the Court of Russia; that this appeared still in a stronger light, when he called to mind the advances the Emperor of Russia had made towards a separate peace with the King, his master, and the present moment was of the greatest importance, and must not be let slip; that, for his part, he considered a separate peace between Russia and Prussia as the surest and most natural means to bring about a general one; that the Court of Vienna, whilst they had the least hopes of re-establishing their interest at Petersbourg, would never think of treating with the King of Prussia, but when cut off from all expectation of assistance from Russia, they might, perhaps, become more reasonable and

moderate ; that after this separate peace the Emperor of Russia would have more weight and influence to give peace to the rest of Europe ; and then, and not till then, was the proper moment to begin a general negotiation, which, if attempted now, would probably miscarry by the arts of France and Vienna, joined to the weakness and venality of the Court of Petersbourg.

I told Count Finckenstein there was great weight in many things he had said, and that I was persuaded a separate peace which did not tend to continue and prolong the miseries of war, would be agreeable to the King, my master, who had been pleased to approve of the instructions sent to Mr. Keith in my letter of the 24th January ; and then I hinted my surprise that no communication had been made of the instructions given to Baron Goltz ; to which the Count replied, that, upon his honour, I knew as much of them as he did. I answered, I was sorry for that, as it certainly would appear very odd to the King's Ministers in England to receive the first information from Petersbourg of what his Prussian Majesty had resolved on six or eight weeks before at Breslaw, and I concluded with putting him in mind of the open, friendly, and generous manner in which the King last year communicated to the King of Prussia all the progressive steps of the separate negotiation with France.

I perfectly well understand the intent and meaning of the King's instructions sent me in your Lordship's letter of the 8th January, and I have already rectified the mistake that was apprehended.

As to the caution given me in the conclusion of your Lordship's letter of the 6th of February, it shall be carefully attended to; but your Lordship will permit me to refer to my letter of the 21st of January, by Padmore, for what has already passed between Count Finckenstein and me on that subject.

I am, &c.,

AND^R. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to Mr. Keith, at St. Petersbourg.

4°.

Magdeburg, 5th March, 1762.

SIR,

Since I wrote to you by Bullock the messenger, of the 24th February, I was favoured on the 2nd instant with your's of the 9th of February, which gave me great satisfaction, and I expect every moment still greater by the arrival of a courier or estaffette from you. I have transmitted a copy of your letter of the 9th of February into England, and have communicated the contents of the same to Count Finckenstein, who desires me in the strongest manner to convey to you his compliments and thanks as the forerunner of those of his master. I hear Brigadier Hutowiez,[6] who arrived at Breslaw on the 20th, set out from thence on the 23rd of February for Petersbourg: I am told his Prussian Majesty was extremely pleased with his manner of executing the commission he was charged with, and everybody approved of his behaviour. Pray make him my compliments.

[6] See note, *ante*, p. 263.

General Chernichew, on the 27th of last month, had not begun to move, nor sent any message; but I am glad to hear that an order is arrived to Prince Wolkonsky to agree to a general armistice between the Russians and Prussians in Silesia as well as in Pomerania, and to deliver the Prussian prisoners without ransom, so that I see the Emperor is not to be outdone in generosity.

Monsieur Gross was got as far as Helvoet Sluys before the letter could reach him; but I hear he returned on the 22nd of February to the Hague, as you may believe not in very good humour. I have no letter from England since the 12th of February, occasioned by the stormy weather, which had cut off all correspondence; but I expect very soon a messenger, as my letter of the 26th of January is the latest acknowledged from England.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

P.S.—I send you inclosed a copy of my *private* letter of the 27th of February to Lord Bute, which, I think, joined with what is hinted in your letter to me of the 9th of that month, cannot fail to open their eyes, and to shew that they suffered themselves to be duped by a person who is knocking at the wrong door, and who has entered the back way. If I have done amiss, you will fairly let me know, but you cannot mistake my intention. A. M.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Bute.

Secret.

Magdeburg, Sunday, 7th March, 1762.

My Lord,

I have received a letter from Mr. Keith, of the 16th, by post, and also one of the 20th of February, by Pollock the messenger, of both which copies are here inclosed.

I instantly translated into French Mr. Keith's letter, of the 20th of February, which I gave to Count Finckenstein to be transmitted to the King of Prussia. At the same time, I communicated to that gentleman every thing material in Mr. Keith's letter to me of the 16th, by post, and in his private letter of the 20th of February. The Count told me he would immediately convey to the King his master the translation I had given of Mr. Keith's letter of the 20th, and that he would write at the same time his opinion upon the different points contained in it, but he intreated me to write to the King of Prussia myself about the particulars mentioned in the other two letters. To this, after some little dispute, I agreed, and accordingly I transmit to your Lordship a copy of my letter on this occasion to that monarch, in which I have taken the liberty to suggest the only expedients that occurred to me for accomplishing what Mr. Keith seems so earnestly to wish for; whether they will be to his Prussian Majesty's liking, I cannot say, but I shewed my letter to Count Finckenstein, who approved of it, and for more security

had it put into cypher. So soon as I receive an answer from the King of Prussia, I shall communicate it to your Lordship without loss of time.

Whilst I was making these communications to Count Finckenstein, which I did at two different times, I took an opportunity to express my surprise that nothing had yet been communicated of the instructions given to Baron Goltz. The Count assured me that he had wrote to the King his master what I had formerly said to him upon that head (of which I gave your Lordship an account in my secret letter of the 2nd), but that he had yet received no answer, and he averred to me upon his honour, that he knew no more than I did of the particular forms upon which Monsieur de Goltz was empowered to treat. I own I believe he told me truth, for I have hitherto found that Minister acting with candor and sincerity, but frequently not so thoroughly informed as might be expected of one in the post he holds. Such is, and such, as I am informed, has long been, the manner of transacting business at this Court.

Whatever may be the King of Prussia's intentions in treating with the Czar, I confess I am not much alarmed since I received Mr. Keith's letter of the 20th of February, by which it appears that the Russians are in want of money for the payment of their troops ; and I do not believe that money abounds with his Prussian Majesty. It will, therefore, be in the King's power to render any treaty or convention, that may tend to prolong the war, ineffectual, if his Majesty should disapprove of it.

No time has been lost in re-dispatching this messenger: if he had got away last night late, he could only have reached the packet of next Saturday, which he is still sure of doing.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Bute.

Secret.

Madgeburg, Saturday, 13th March, 1762.

MY LORD,

Last Tuesday night, after my letter of that date was sent to the post, Count Finckenstein came to me and told me that he had received an answer from the King his master, in relation to what I had insinuated concerning a communication of the particular instructions given to Baron Goltz, as mentioned in my secret letter to your Lordship of the 2nd instant. That gentleman said, the King of Prussia had wrote to his Ministers in England to explain that matter to the King's Ministers, that till he (King of Prussia) should receive letters from Baron Goltz at Petersbourg, it was impossible to enter into particulars, as the true state and intentions of that Court were hitherto but imperfectly known to him; that, so soon as he was informed, he would not fail to communicate everything; and his Ministers were at the same time directed to say that he was too honest a man, and too sensible of the great obligations he had to the King and to the nation, to

take any step without a previous concert with his Majesty, &c.

I confess, my Lord, I was not much edified with this declaration, which is nothing less than satisfactory; but I made no remark whatever, having already spoke so fully upon that subject to Count Finckenstein, as will appear by my *secret letters* of the 2nd and 7th instant to your Lordship; and that gentleman, I believe, really wishes there had been more openness on the part of his master.

I have seen Count Finckenstein but for a moment since the arrival of the messengers. He appears much afflicted with the contents of the dispatches from the Prussian Ministers at London, and he promises to acquaint me with what they wrote to him on this occasion. He fears his master may act passionately, and that the application about the Duke of Bevern may not succeed in the humour the King of Prussia will be in; but I have dispatched Mann the messenger with directions to make all possible expedition to Breslaw, where I hope he will arrive at least fifteen or twenty hours before the courier sent by Count Finckenstein can get to that place, or his Prussian Majesty be acquainted with the contents of the dispatches of his Ministers in England.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Bute.

Private.

Magdeburg, Wednesday, 17th March, 1762.

My Lord,

Soon after my letter to your Lordship of yesterday's date was sent to the post, Count Finckenstein came to me and read a letter from the King his master, dated at Breslaw, the 12th current, which he had then just received. It contained an order in very pressing terms for the Count to repair forthwith to Breslaw, as the King of Prussia was pleased to say that he was just upon the point of concluding a peace with Russia, and hoped to finish it before the opening of the campaign, &c.

I need not observe to your Lordship that his Prussian Majesty has yet had no direct correspondence with the Court of Petersbourg, and that every thing has passed through Mr. Keith's hands, and, of consequence, has been communicated to your Lordship. It is indeed highly probable, as well from what Mr. Keith writes, as from every step the Emperor has taken since he ascended the throne, that he intends to make peace with Prussia.

Hitherto, however, no conditions or stipulations, upon which a treaty may be formed, have been mentioned on either side, nor indeed could probably be till the arrival of Baron Goltz at Petersbourg, (which might be on the 3rd or 4th instant,) unless it can be supposed that Brigadier Hutowitz,[7] who was at Breslaw on the 21st and 22nd of February, was charged with a commission to treat, (which I very much doubt,) and even in that

[7] See note, *ante*, p. 263.

case his Prussian Majesty could have no accounts from Petersbourg after the arrival of the Brigadier at that place, where he reckoned to be by the 9th or 10th instant. I say, my Lord, all these circumstances considered, I am inclined to think that this peace exists only in the King of Prussia's imagination, which indeed is most fruitfull and lively, and affords him much comfort by overlooking or at least diminishing every obstacle and difficulty which might oppose or retard the accomplishment of his wishes.

However prudent it might have been in the present dangerous and critical situation of affairs to have agreed to any terms offered by the Russians, I cannot persuade myself that the King of Prussia has given *carte blanche* to Baron Goltz to sign and seal without consulting him, for this reason, among many others, that it is a degree of trust and confidence the King of Prussia is incapable of bestowing on any man living, even on the most able and experienced minister, much less on a young man just entered upon business.

Be this as it may, Count Finckenstein must go to Breslaw, and he proposes to leave this place the end of the week : so soon as he is gone, every source of intelligence will be cut off, and I shall then only be able to transmit to your Lordship the letters I may receive from Mr. Keith, and the very imperfect accounts that will be sent me from Breslaw.

I could indeed have wished that a proper person had been sent to the King of Prussia, as was hinted in your Lordship's letter to me of the 8th of January, by Mann

the messenger; but as that has not been done, and critical and unforeseen accidents having since occurred, I am resolved (if my physician thinks I can, without the most imminent danger, undertake a journey to Breslaw) to venture every thing for the King's service, and therefore will hold myself in readiness to set out, in case I should be called upon by the King of Prussia, or ordered by the King to go to Breslaw; and I need not observe to your Lordship that any orders the King shall think fit to send me, will arrive long before Count Keyserlingk (who I believe is now at Ratisbon) can receive directions from his Court to repair to Breslaw, and it is hardly credible that any thing will be concluded till the arrival of that Minister.

I will not now trouble your Lordship with any account of the present state of my health: when I have seen my physician, I shall be better able to describe it; at all events, your Lordship may be assured that nothing in my power shall be wanting to fullfill the duties of the important but painfull employment I am honoured with in his Majesty's service.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Bute.

Private.

Magdebourg, Thursday, 25th March, 1762.

MY LORD,

I took occasion to insinuate to Count Finckenstein, in a confidential letter I wrote to him, the fair

opportunity the King of Prussia had of shewing his friendship, by acting in concert with his Majesty, to improve the favourable disposition the Emperor of Russia seems to be in of adjusting, in an amicable manner, his differences with the Court of Denmark. What effect the hint I have given may have, I will not pretend to say; but I flatter myself that it can do no harm, as I have avoided committing his Majesty, and taken upon myself to suggest what I thought was agreeable to the King's views and intentions. I could not help letting the Count feel the impropriety and inconsistency there was in Baron Goltz' conduct at Petersbourg, compared with the language held here of his having no instructions at all. Whether I have properly executed what I intended, your Lordship will be enabled to judge by the inclosed copy of my letter of the 23rd inst. to Count Finckenstein, of whose good intentions I have had many proofs.

I take leave to observe to your Lordship, that Mr. Keith seems on the 11th instant not to have received my letters of the 10th, nor of the 15th February, though all possible care has been taken in forwarding them by estaffettes when they contained anything that required dispatch. It appears, likewise, from Mr. Keith's letters of the 11th instant, that neither Mr. Wroughton nor Brigadier Hutowiez were then arrived at Petersbourg.

The whole tenor of Mr. Keith's dispatch to your Lordship shews that the Emperor is disposed to conclude a peace with the King of Prussia upon any terms, and

even to make such voluntary sacrifices of his conquests, as could hardly with decency have been asked.

The insinuation made by Monsieur de Goltz of the Emperor's guaranty for Silesia, and the favourable reception this proposal met with from his Imperial Majesty, with only the condition of a reciprocal guaranty for his dutchy, induces me to think that more is implyed than is expressed by a simple guaranty; I mean, that it may extend to a promise on the part of the King of Prussia to assist the Emperor to conquer the dutchy, in case the King of Denmark should not agree to an amicable adjustment of their differences. I am led to this conjecture, not from anything I have discovered here, but barely from a consideration of the Emperor's predilection for his dutchy, and the keenness he has ever shewn for preserving untouched his pretended rights; and indeed this is the only way I can account for the very extraordinary, I had almost said precipitate steps the Emperor has already taken to gain the King of Prussia's friendship, which, without this view, and in the present moment, would really be of very little importance.

I hinted to your Lordship, in my *secret and separate* letter of the 2nd, the earliest suspicion I had of this affair, and though I have not since been able to discover anything that tends to confirm that suspicion, (for I cannot give credit to a report spread lately that the King of Prussia intended to take possession of the town of Lubeck, in order to facilitate the Emperor of Russia's attempt upon the dutchy of Sleswick,) I am still of

opinion that such is the unhappy situation of the King of Prussia's affairs, that he can reject no condition whatever seriously insisted upon by the Emperor of Russia, and that his Prussian Majesty will think himself sufficiently justified by the plea of necessity for agreeing to any terms the Court of Russia shall propose, especially if in consideration of such stipulations the Emperor should evacuate the kingdom of Prussia and province of Pomerania, which by the Declaration delivered to the Ministers of the Alliance on the 23rd of February, as well as by what the Emperor has said to Mr. Goltz since his arrival at Petersbourg, seems to be his real intention.

Upon the whole, my Lord, I consider a peace between Russia and Prussia as very near at hand, and though I am far from justifying the clandestine manner in which it has been transacted, I humbly submit to your Lordship whether it may not be proper, in the present emergency, to dissemble a little, and even to seem satisfied with the excuses his Prussian Majesty will undoubtedly make, for the want of previous communication to the King, rather than to shew too much sensibility, or anything like resentment for this reserved and unfriendly behaviour on the part of the King of Prussia.

The knowledge I have of the King of Prussia's temper, and of his caprices, induces me to write with this freedom; and I believe nothing will more disgust that monarch than if he should imagine himself to be treated as a pecuniary dependant. He may, for a time,

seem to dissemble, but he will not easily forget; and the first fair opportunity that offers, he will not fail to take his revenge, even at the expense of his real interest.

But there is another reason, of more weight with me, which is, that, by gentle measures, his Prussian Majesty may be induced to act in concert with the King, and to second and support the plan his Majesty may have formed, by preventing a rupture with Denmark and Russia. I am led to this reflection from what Mr. Keith says in his letter to your Lordship, that the Duke of Holstein had greatly contributed to persuade the Emperor first to try amicable measures with Denmark; and he seems to reckon on that Duke's farther assistance, and likewise to be persuaded that the Emperor, as well as the King of Denmark, will have the greatest regard to the good offices of the King, and the King of Prussia, during the course of this negotiation; which, if exerted jointly and in thorough concert, can hardly fail of producing the great and desirable end proposed.

Your Lordship will pardon the liberty I have taken, in this letter, of offering my opinion upon points of so great delicacy; if I have done wrong, let it be imputed to my zeal for the King's service, and to the desire I have that your Lordship should be informed of everything that can throw light upon the important negotiation between the Courts of Petersbourg and Berlin.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Bute.

Private.

Magdeburg, Wednesday, 14th April, 1762.

My Lord,

I have considered with the greatest attention your Lordship's dispatches of the 26th and 30th March, and shall carefully obey the instructions they contain.

I confess they give me great concern: I am directed to lay the whole affair before the King of Prussia without any softening; and am ordered to say, that the conduct of his Prussian Majesty's Ministers in England is displeasing, and that the King desires they may be instructed to proceed with a greater degree of caution for the future.

Your Lordship will permit me to observe, that the misunderstanding between the two Courts seems partly to take its rise from the imprudence, indiscretion, or impertinence of the Prussian Ministers at London, of the particulars of which I am not informed, and so shall be but ill able to support the complaint against them, in case his Prussian Majesty should think proper to ask in what manner his Ministers have misbehaved; for it cannot be doubted those gentlemen will make a most favourable report of their own conduct, without, perhaps, doing justice to your Lordship, and to the King's Ministers who have treated with them, and it is entirely in their power to misrepresent as they please the conversations they have had with the King's Ministers,

without my being able to contradict them in any particular.

As for the Prussian Ministers pretending to have had their intelligence from their own Court, when they really had picked it up in England, I fear his Prussian Majesty will not consider that as a crime, but rather as a piece of address on the part of his Ministers, in order to discover a secret of importance, and to be able to speak with more weight to the King's Ministers.

I think proper to mention these circumstances, which discourage me very much in the execution of the orders I am charged with; I shall, however, do my best to satisfy your Lordship, and shall give a full and fair account of everything that passes at Breslaw upon this important affair.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to Mr. Keith.

Private, and for yourself only.

Berlin, Wednesday, 21st April, 1762.

SIR,

The confidential note inclosed in your's of the 9th instant explains, in some measure, to me the King of Prussia's conduct, which otherwise would have been unaccountable. By all I yet know of the differences between the two Courts, I cannot say who is most to blame, though I think both have failed in the same point—want of openness. I knew nothing of the jealousies arising, till very lately, when I immediately dropt you a hint. I am going on a very disagreeable

errand, and am very doubtfull of success, but, whatever our superiors do, let us act with coolness.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Bute.

Secret.

Breslaw, Monday, 3rd May, 1762.

MY LORD,

* * * * *

I then produced the *precis* of your Lordship's letter of the 12th January to General Yorke, which his Prussian Majesty looking at, said hastily, It was a *piece supposée*, and did not agree with the accounts he had had from other quarters, from whence he was informed that my Court had proposed to the Court of Vienna considerable cessions of his, King of Prussia's, territories. I answered, with as much temper as I could, that I was persuaded the intelligence his Prussian Majesty had had of considerable cessions being proposed to the Court of Vienna by the Court of London, at his, King of Prussia's, expence, was absolutely false, and without the least foundation; that I could easily see powerful motives for the common enemy to spread such reports, but none for his Prussian Majesty to give credit to them; that the paper I held in my hand was authentick, and a full, not a partial communication; that the King had no Minister weak enough, nor wicked enough, to send a fictitious paper to be presented, in his Majesty's name, to the King of Prussia; that if he, King of Prussia,

would cooly consider this paper, he would find it contained, not only the most inoffensive, but also the most friendly intentions; that it was calculated to open the eyes of the Empress Queen, and even to point out an indemnification elsewhere than in Silesia.

To this his Prussian Majesty replyed, with more calmness than he had formerly spoke with, that the paper was very different from that which had been reported to him from good authority; that perhaps the Court of Vienna had exagerated matters; that it was a pity the communication had not been made sooner, as is the custom among allies, which would have prevented many disagreeable thoughts and suspicions he should be glad to find were groundless. His Prussian Majesty added, I see you are not informed of what has passed at your Court, and, as you have always behaved yourself with honour during your residence with me, I tell you, in confidence, that I have received information that an insinuation has been made to Prince Galitzin, which tended to no less than to traverse and defeat my negotiations at the Court of Petersbourg.

To this I answered with some vivacity, I believed that was impossible, and begged his Prussian Majesty not to give credit to malicious suggestions, fabricated to raise jealousies, and to divide those whose interest it was to be thoroughly united, &c. I then prayed his Prussian Majesty to communicate to me the intelligence he had on this head, adding that, perhaps, I alone might be capable to destroy the phantom, but that I was sure the King's Ministers at London were well able

to do it, so soon as they should be informed of what had been imputed to them. To this his Prussian Majesty made no reply.

Lastly, I mentioned to the King of Prussia the reserved and unfriendly manner in which Monsieur Goltz' negotiation at Petersbourg had been carried on, that had been concealed not only from the King, but also from Mr. Keith, his Minister at that Court: to this he answered, very shortly, that if I had seen the intelligences he had received of the insinuations made to Prince Galitzin, I should no longer wonder at the orders he, King of Prussia, had given to his Minister at Petersbourg, nor at his silence elsewhere. I took occasion again to intreat most earnestly his Prussian Majesty to communicate to me that intelligence, so often alluded to; that it was but justice due to the King's Ministers to let them know what had been laid to their charge; that I could not help fearing his Prussian Majesty had already gone too far, in relying implicitly, and without sufficient examination on an intelligence which I firmly believed destitute of all foundation, &c. To this the King of Prussia made no answer.

I have, indeed, heard that before my arrival here, he had given directions to his Ministers in England to touch no more on that head. How he will be able to do without it, I confess greatly surpasses my apprehension; for this country, as well as his hereditary dominions, are exhausted to such a degree, that the bare description would move the hardest heart, and extort compassion from the most insensible.

He cannot therefore, with any colour of justice or truth, avail himself at the Court of Russia of sacrifices made on that account.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Bute.

Private and confidential.—*Propria manu.*

Breslaw, Monday, 3rd May, 1762.

MY LORD,

Two days after I had my audience of the King of Prussia, Count Finckenstein came to me and told me he had the King, his master's, permission to communicate to me something of importance by way of *private confidence*, which, however, must remain a secret. I answered, I was much obliged to his Prussian Majesty; that he might assure him I should make no bad use of any thing he was pleased to trust me with.

The Count then read to me a paper, which contained an account of a conversation your Lordship was supposed to have had with Prince Galitzin just after the news of the late Empress of Russia's death, and at the time Mr. Wroughton was named as resident, which conversation Prince Galitzin is supposed to have communicated to an intimate friend of his under the seal of secrecy.

Lord Bute told Prince Galitzin, Mr. Wroughton was sent to Russia with instructions for him and Mr. Keith to cultivate and extend the friendship between the two Courts, &c.; that one of his instructions was to persuade

the Emperor to concur in making a general peace, and for that end it was hoped the Czar would not withdraw his troops from the Prussian territories, as Lord Bute could not persuade himself that the Emperor would prefer the alliance with the King of Prussia to the national alliance with the House of Austria; that by not withdrawing the troops, the King of Prussia would be under the necessity of making considerable cessions to the House of Austria; that it was not the intention of England to make eternal war, to please the King of Prussia; that England wanted just to save him, but wished that Prince could be brought to make considerable cessions; that about six weeks ago Mr. Mitchell had been wrote to, to sound the Prussian Ministers at Magdeburg what cessions might be expected, and that no answer was yet received, nor did Lord Bute believe it would be a favourable one, &c.

This, my Lord, is the substance of the paper which was read to me as exactly as it is possible for me to recollect by memory, for I was not permitted to take notes, and when the Count had done reading, he asked me what I thought? I answered, that the whole was an ill-intentioned fiction; that I believed your Lordship never had any such conversation. The Count said, he could assure me of the authority of the paper he had read, but was not at liberty to explain farther. I replyed, that supposing the authenticity out of all doubt, and that it could be proved to come directly from Prince Galitzin, yet it would be very unjust to impute that conversation to your Lordship, upon no better

authority than that of the Prince, who, as he, Count Finckenstein, had often told me, was a sworn enemy to the King of Prussia, and strictly connected with the Courts of France and Vienna. I therefore desired to have a copy of that paper, which I would forthwith transmit to your Lordship, but this I could not obtain; and the reason given for the refusal was, that they must not commit the canal through which this intelligence was received.

I think it my duty to give your Lordship the fullest information in my power concerning this affair, hoping that the strictest secrecy will be observed on this occasion; and I have only to add, that I am informed his Prussian Majesty, upon first receiving this intelligence, was almost furious, and to this moment cannot talk with temper upon the subject.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Bute.

Private. P. m. 4°.

Breslaw, 4th May, 1762.

MY LORD,

I have just learned that the King of Prussia intends to write to the King, and will allude in general terms to the intelligence, &c. he has received. This makes my *private and confidential letter* of yesterday's date to your Lordship, of more importance than I imagined it would be of at the time it was wrote.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Bute.

Secret.

Breslaw, Sunday, 9th May, 1762.

My Lord,

My situation here is indeed of the most extraordinary, and so changed from what it was, that I am really at a loss to account for it. I pay my court almost daily to the King of Prussia, and am always received with great civility; but I see he industriously avoids talking of affairs, and his minister, Count Finckenstein, with whom I was in habits of friendship and confidence, follows his master's example, perhaps by express order, and behaves to me with as much reservedness as if we were absolute strangers. On the other hand, I affect to appear insensible of this great alteration in their conduct, avoid asking questions or shewing the least curiosity to be informed of their affairs, at the same time behaving with all the circumspection I am capable of, and in such a manner as to avoid giving any just cause of offence.

I have learnt that the intelligence which has inflamed his Prussian Majesty's breast with jealousy, of which I gave your Lordship an account in my secret letter of the 3rd, was received here towards the end of the month of March last, that it had a visible effect upon the King of Prussia's health and temper; for he was then just recovering from a slight fever, which had confined him to his chamber for some days. What steps his Prussian Majesty took, or what directions he

gave to his Ministers in England, upon that occasion, I am not able to discover; but I imagine, from the silence of the master as well as the reserve of the minister, that before they will open to me in any manner, they are waiting the return of a courier, which I have no doubt was dispatched to the Prussian Ministers at London soon after that intelligence was received. I mention these particulars to your Lordship, that in case any representations should be thought necessary at this Court, your Lordship may be informed of the perfect state of ignorance I am in at this moment.

By the best accounts I can have of the strength of the Prussian army in Silesia, when assembled, it will be upon the footing of one hundred and two thousand men, that is to say, supposing all the corps compleat, but the real and effective force will be upwards of eighty thousand.

Lieutenant-General Verner marched from * * some days ago with seven bataillons infantry and fifteen squadrons cavalry. It is said he is gone towards *Cosel* in the higher Silesia, and that he is to be joined by four thousand Tartars, and to make an irruption, by way of diversion, into Moravia. Whether these Tartars really exist, I confess I have some doubt, though I have good reason to believe that the King of Prussia has been in actual negotiation with the Kam of Tartary since the end of last summer. I am yet but imperfectly informed of this transaction, but shall not fail to communicate to your Lordship any farther discoveries I may happen to make concerning it.

I begin now to suspect that either the treaty with Russia is not yet signed, or, if it is, that it has been sent back to have something altered in it; for I have reason to believe that several couriers have been dispatched from hence to Petersbourg since my arrival, though care has been taken to conceal their departure from me.

I wait with the greatest impatience and anxiety of mind for letters from your Lordship, which may serve to lead me out of this labyrinth and to restore me to myself.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Bute.

Breslaw, Wednesday, 19th May, 1762.

MY LORD,

Since my last, of the 16th, I have no letters from England. The King of Prussia continues at *Bettlern*, and his army remain in their quarters of cantonment. It is said, that besides the corps of Brentano, the greatest part of the Austrian army are encamped with their right at *Kaltenbrunn*, and their left at *Hohen-Posseritz*, by which position they cover *Schweidnitz*. I hear the corps of Prussians in the higher Silesia, under the command of Lieutenant-General Verner, are advanced between *Troppau* and *Ratiber*, having hitherto met with no resistance.

Accounts have been received from Saxony, that on the 12th, his Royal Highness Prince Henry attacked and forced the different posts the Austrians had on the *Mulda*, drove them out of *Döblen*, and on this occasion

made fifteen hundred prisoners, among whom is General Zettwitz, and upwards of forty other officers. The success of this sudden and unexpected attack obliged the Austrians to evacuate the town of Freyberg, which was immediately occupied by the Prussians.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Bute.

Breslaw, Sunday, 23rd May, 1762.

MY LORD,

* * * * *

Last Thursday, the 20th, Count Schwerin arrived from Petersbourg, preceded by twenty postillions. He brings with him the treaty of peace between the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia. The Count only passed through the town, and went directly to his Prussian Majesty's quarter at *Betlern.* The next day, the King of Prussia gave an entertainment, to which Count Finckenstein was invited. This day the peace was proclaimed at Breslaw, with the usual solemnities, and intimated to all the regiments, which were assembled for that purpose.

Yesterday afternoon, Count Finckenstein, by the King, his master's, order, gave me the original of the treaty to read over. It consists of eight articles, and two separate articles, and is signed by the Great Chancellor Worronzow and Baron Goltz, on the 24th April, old stile. I asked the Count if there was no secret articles. He answered, upon his honour he knew

of none, nor of any thing more than he had shewed me; that he heard the Emperor had promised fifteen thousand men and one thousand Cossacks, which were to join the Prussian army some time in June next, and that General Chernichew was to command them. The Count added, that a copy of this treaty was forthwith to be sent to England, to be communicated to the King by the Prussian Ministers there. I replyed, that I should not take upon me to give any account to my Court of the contents of this treaty, unless a copy was given me, which, however, I did not ask. The Count, after some hesitation, promised a copy, which, if I receive, I shall immediately forward to your Lordship by a messenger.

I made no remark whatever upon the treaty, but when Count Finckenstein observed that the shewing the original of the treaty to me was a mark of the fair and candid manner in which his master acted, I replyed that it was quite needless to have shewn me the original, as I could have no doubt that his Prussian Majesty would make a fair communication of the whole to the King my master.

The Emperor of Russia has asked for a regiment in the King of Prussia's service, and he will be named Colonel of that of Seybourg, formerly Itzenplitz, a regiment which, on all occasions, has distinguished itself. I hear the King of Prussia will ask a regiment in the Emperor's service. The ratification of the treaty was sent off yesterday. I write this in some hurry, as it is intended to go by the Prussian messenger that

carries a copy of the treaty to England, who, I hear, will be dispatched some time this afternoon.

I am, &c.,

AND^R. MITCHELL.

The following dispatch from Lord Bute is important, as throwing some new light on the question of the withdrawal of the subsidy to Frederic, respecting which much misrepresentation has long prevailed :—

The Earl of Bute to Mr. Mitchell.

St. James's, May 26th, 1762.

SIR,

As this is the last dispatch that it will fall to my share to write to you in quality of Secretary of State, I think it necessary, and especially as the Parliament is upon the point of breaking up without any grant of subsidy, as in the former years, to the King of Prussia, to enable you to justify the King's conduct from any misapprehensions or misrepresentations of what has passed in that affair, and to set forth his Majesty's true motives for withholding that succour in the present circumstances ; that so the natural consequences of public events, and the effects of pure necessity, may be no more imputed, as they have been maliciously, to such a failure of friendship, as has in truth never existed ; since the King never had, nor has now, the least thought of abandoning his Prussian Majesty to his enemies, or deserting his alliance.

In order to your being prepared to execute this instruction in a manner conformable to the King's

intention, I must desire you to recollect with me the several stages of the negotiation concerning the subsidy, and what passed in the different periods of it.

Upon the conclusion of the last campaign, which ended so greatly to the King of Prussia's disadvantage, by his loss of the two important fortresses of Schweidnitz and Colberg, the King saw the distress of his ally with the utmost grief and commiseration ; and, upon the pressing application of the Prussian Ministers here, his Majesty, notwithstanding the great load of expences from the continuance of military operations in so many parts of the globe, as well by sea as land, for which the Parliament could with difficulty make provisions, yet did not hesitate a minute in determining to give the former succours to the King of Prussia. The form in which that business had been before transacted, the treaty being then expired, was indeed objected to, but the substance was not disputed.

The negotiation for settling the mode of that business was carried on through the months of November and December. In the beginning of the present year our war with Spain broke out, and the necessity of our undertaking the defence of Portugal, against the ambitious views of that crown, was foreseen. The additional weight of such vast charges upon the almost exhausted resources of this country, could not but alarm the warmest advocates for the continuance of war ; and the indisputable expedience of lessening the objects of them was universally felt and acknowledged. In that circumstance, you were directed to recommend, in the King's

name, to his Prussian Majesty, to endeavour to set on foot some negotiation of peace with the Court of Vienna. He was desired to entrust his Majesty with the terms upon which he would be willing to treat, and assured of the King's desire to assist in bringing any such salutary design to perfection. You were likewise ordered to ask a communication of the means on which he would rely, after so many misfortunes and such a diminution of his power, for carrying on the war, if that were his intention.

After some weeks waiting for an eclaircissement upon either of those heads, in the beginning of February, the King did indeed complain of so unexpected a silence; but you were still told that his Majesty was thinking of the proper time for making the demand of the subsidy in Parliament.

In this interval we had the great news of the decease of the late Czarina, and a most promising prospect, from our very first accounts of that happy change of measures, which has so greatly bettered the King of Prussia's situation.

His Majesty saw that amendment with the truest satisfaction. He rejoiced in it as a sincere friend to that Prince, and as a well-wisher to the publick interests of mankind; for he considered the defection of Russia from the contrary alliance as what must give his Prussian Majesty a great advantage towards obtaining a speedy peace; and though his Majesty could not consistently with the interests of his people, whose burthens were increasing in proportion as those of his

ally were lessened, think then of contributing, by any act of his, to the prolongation of the war, yet he still declared, and has continued till near the present time declaring, that if he might have assurance that the subsidy should be employed towards the procurement of peace, his Majesty would be still ready to ask it immediately of his Parliament.

This was the language, as well of my letter of the 26th of February, to Messrs. Kniphausen and Michel, as of one, which his Majesty was pleased himself to write a month after that, to the King of Prussia.

It was not till the 9th of last month that, after a long fruitless waiting for such an overture from Breslaw as might have justified to his Majesty's own paternal sentiments and to the public the laying again, in so different circumstances, so heavy a charge upon his people, that you were directed to hold a language to the King of Prussia which might prepare him for a total cessation of the former pecuniary succour. It was not till after the actual conclusion of his armistice with Russia, and when an agreement of the like kind with Sweden was in view: it was when the former of those powers seemed on the point of concluding a defensive treaty (at least) with his Prussian Majesty, and the latter, from her absolute inability to continue the war, and the universal cry of her people for peace, was preparing to make the first step towards him. In a word, it was subsequent to our receiving here that important declaration, of the 23rd of February, by the new Emperor, wherein he openly exhorts the King of Prussia's

enemies to put a speedy end to the war, and declares his own resolution of restoring to that Prince all the important conquests of his predecessor.

With these facts and dates in your memory, you may venture to appeal, not only as you were directed by my last cited dispatch, to that Prince's former eventual declarations, but even to his own present judgment, and that of his Ministers, whether the King could have still reasonably been expected to persevere in his intention of giving the former subsidy. We have a very powerful additional enemy to contend with. His Prussian Majesty has a new and very powerful friend. The weight of Spain is thrown into our opposite scale: that of Russia, and Sweden too, is taken out of his. The King of Prussia had Pomerania and Brandenbourg to defend, besides Saxony and Silesia: the two former are no longer in danger. We had on our part a most expensive land war to support in Germany; we must now provide for another in Portugal.

It seems hardly imaginable that this striking comparison should not be sufficient to convince even the Court of Breslaw, that in such circumstances, without a certainty of its application towards lessening the object of war, it was not possible to propose the subsidy to Parliament with any hopes of success.

Having thus stated to you, in its true and genuine colours, the whole of the King's proceeding in relation to the Prussian subsidy, with the real motives of it in every step; I come now to say something upon another affair, which concerns myself more particularly, and in

which his Majesty is very graciously pleased to permit me to make my own disculpation a part of this dispatch, written by his order, and with his approbation.

I need not tell you, for you are fully apprized of it, that I have been charged with having held to Prince Gallitzin, some little time before his departure, a most unfriendly discourse with regard to the King of Prussia, and with having in particular endeavoured to persuade the Emperor of Russia, through the canal of that Minister, in the first place, not to withdraw his troops from the Prussian territories, but to keep them still there, in order to force that Prince to make cessions to the Queen of Hungary; and 2ndly, to prefer an alliance with the House of Austria to that of his Prussian Majesty: these are the chief points of accusation, to which are added some embellishments of less consequence. And in answer to them, what I have to observe to you is, that I see no resemblance in that account to my real conversation with Prince Gallitzin. If he did therefore make such a report to the Emperor, he must either grossly have mistaken my meaning, or failed in his memory, or (what I am sorry to suppose possible with respect to a gentleman so deservedly esteemed) may have been prompted by his known attachment to the Court of Vienna, to give such a turn to his relation of my discourse, as he might think most likely to serve that interest.

By a particular coldness shewn by the Czar to Mr. Keith, and by hints which dropped from his Imperial Majesty, there was reason to think that some-

thing written to him by Gallitzin with regard to the King's dispositions towards the King of Prussia had given him offence. He without doubt communicated that intelligence to his Prussian Majesty, who had been before disposed, by those malevolent and mischievous insinuations, which we have, from a multitude of combined circumstances, but too much reason to suppose he receives from his Ministers here, to give an entire belief to it, with the same credulity with which he listened to that groundless and shameful falsehood, transmitted to him from hence, of his Majesty's having offered to treat with the Court of Vienna at his expence.

But, however that be, the fact is, that I held no such discourse. I do perfectly recollect the interview which I had with Prince Gallitzin before he left us, and I remember as perfectly, that I had then lying by me my first dispatch after the late Empress's death to Mr. Keith; and that I talked to him from the contents, and entirely in the language of it: and I must add, that, in using that stile, I spoke not my own notions only, but those of his Majesty and of all his servants who had seen and concurred in the instructions then sent to Mr. Keith.

I communicated to you, at that time, what appeared necessary for your information of the contents of that dispatch; but, as it is now become of more importance, I have his Majesty's leave to send you, in extenso, every word in it that related to the general affairs of Europe, or to the King of Prussia in particular.

You will see, that, instead of advising the Czar to

continue his armies upon that Prince's territories, the King's particular pleasure and satisfaction is expressed in the orders given to those troops to advance no farther upon them, to abstain from all hostilities, and even to accept of an armistice, if offered. You will see too, that, so far from desiring that the Court of Russia should prefer the Austrian alliance to the King of Prussia's, Mr. Keith was directed to execute the instructions sent him from the King of Prussia himself, which were certainly not in favour of the Queen of Hungary.

It is true that the preference is very strongly given to pacifick measures in that dispatch, and Mr. Keith is restrained from concurring in any thing that might tend to protract the war. But this was no secret instruction; for you were directed to make the same declaration, and to shape your own conduct by the same rule.

You see, then, besides my own assertion to the contrary, how totally improbable it is, that I should hold a language to the Russian Minister, I do not say so different, but so absolutely contradictory to the orders which I had just sent from his Majesty to his own Minister at that Court; and that, with those very orders in my hand, I should declare or even insinuate to Prince Gallitzin that his Majesty's real sentiments were just the reverse of them.

Upon this foot, therefore, I shall leave it to you to clear me from such an unworthy imputation, having only just to add to this letter, that as one which his

Majesty has received from the King of Prussia seems to adopt the same ill-founded charge, and does not yet express a full satisfaction in the declarations made by his Majesty with respect to the idle story of our negotiation with the Empress Queen, the King would have you insinuate civilly to Count Finckenstein that his Majesty had not thought it suitable, either to his own or to his Prussian Majesty's dignity, to enter into such altercations, but had chosen to enable you, his Minister, to explain and set in their true light those facts which have, either erroneously or maliciously, been misrepresented to the King of Prussia.

I am, with great truth and regard,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

BUTE.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Bute.

Breslaw, Sunday, 30*th May,* 1762.

MY LORD,

My last letters of the 23rd were forwarded to your Lordship by the Prussian courier who carried a copy of the treaty between the King of Prussia and the Emperor of Russia, to the Prussian Ministers in England. The day after, Count Finckenstein called upon me, and delivered to me, by the King of Prussia's order, a copy of the same treaty, with which I intended to have dispatched a messenger to your Lordship, and therefore did not write by the post of the 26th, but happening that very morning to receive a letter from

Mr. Keith of the 8th instant, by which I find he had sent a messenger directly to England, I thought it unnecessary to dispatch another, who could only carry a copy of the same treaty, as I had nothing material to add to what I had suggested in my *most secret* letter of the 23rd May.

The Prussian and Austrian armies remain in the same position as mentioned in my former letters, and Marshal Daun has yet made no movements that seem to indicate any intention of attacking the King of Prussia. Whether the Russian corps which is to join the Prussian army in Silesia, will accelerate that General's motions, or whether he may find it necessary to send detachments into Saxony, to repair the considerable losses the Austrians have sustained in that country, I cannot at present determine.

The treaty of peace between the King of Prussia and the Crown of Sweden was received here last Friday, the 28th. It was signed at Hamburgh on the 22nd instant, by Monsieur de Hecht, the Prussian Resident to the Circle of Lower Saxony, and by Monsieur d'Olthoff, Counsellor to the Regency of Stralsund. Yesterday, Count Finckenstein acquainted me with the contents of this treaty, which, he said, the Prussian Ministers in England would have orders to communicate to your Lordship, and that a copy of the same in extenso would be transmitted into England so soon as it was ratified. The treaty, the Count tells me, contains, besides the ordinary articles in every treaty of peace, three essential points, viz. :—

1°. A confirmation of the treaty of Stockholm of the year 1720.

2°. The re-establishment of the reciprocal limits and possessions of the two contracting parties upon the same footing they were on before the present war.

3°. An express and positive stipulation on the part of Sweden to take no part whatever directly or indirectly, in quality of guarantee to the peace of Westphalia, in the war now subsisting between the King of Prussia and the Court of Vienna and their allies; reserving, however, to Sweden all the rights and privileges which, as guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia, they are entitled to.

There are no secret nor separate articles to this treaty.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Bute.

Breslaw, Sunday, 6th June, 1762.

MY LORD,

Since my last, of the 2nd, I have no letters from England, but am in hourly expectation of receiving your Lordship's commands on the subject of my dispatch of the 3rd and 4th May by Lang the messenger.

The King of Prussia remains still at *Bettlern*, and Marshal Daun has yet made no movement. There are daily skirmishes between the light troops on both sides, but of so little importance that they are not worth

mentioning to your Lordship. Lieutenant-General Verner, who commands in the higher Silesia, has been in the county of Titschen, and is returned again to Ratiber.

Since the peace with Sweden was concluded, I hear that the Duke of Bevern, governor of Stettin, is set out from that place with a small corps in order to join the King of Prussia's army in Silesia. That Duke will serve in this army as General of infantry; and upon the order of battle he commands the second line.

We hear from Saxony that Prince Henry's progress has been a little retarded by the unskilful manœuvre of General Bandemer, who was sent with a small corps against the army of the Empire, whom he found retiring; but that General, venturing too far in the *Gorge* of the mountains with his van-guard only, was attacked, and lost six or seven hundred men with some pieces of cannon. However, it is said, the army of the Empire still continued to retire; and it is reported the Prince has sent another officer to take the command and relieve General Bandemer.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to Mr. Grenville.

Breslaw, Sunday, 13th June, 1762.

SIR,

The Earl of Bute having acquainted me that his Majesty had been pleased to name you to be Secretary of State for the northern department, I take this oppor-

tunity of wishing you joy of this high mark of the King's favour and confidence.

I have thrown into a separate letter my answer to the Earl of Bute's last dispatch of the 26th May, by Walker, the messenger, who arrived here last Wednesday afternoon, and was re-dispatched forthwith for Petersbourg.

Since my last, to the Earl of Bute, of the 9th inst., nothing has happened here worth notice. The King of Prussia and Marshal Daun continue to occupy their respective positions as mentioned in my former letters. I am informed that the corps of Austrians in the higher Silesia having been reinforced by a strong detachment from Marshal Daun's army, Lieutenant-General Verner has been obliged to retire to *Cosel.*

I am, &c.

Mr. Mitchell to Mr. Grenville.

Separate.

Breslaw, Sunday, 13*th June,* 1762.

Sir,

So soon as I had read and carefully considered the Earl of Bute's dispatch of the 26th May, I desired Count Finckenstein to do me the favour to call upon me (having been confined to my chamber for three weeks past, by the return of a rheumatick fever, which has long harrassed me). That gentleman came to me on Thursday afternoon, when I communicated to him the contents of that dispatch, by which I was enabled to justify his Majesty's conduct from any misapprehensions or misrepresentations, and to set forth his Majesty's true

motives for withholding, in the present circumstances, the subsidy granted to his Prussian Majesty in former years, assuring the Count at the same time, that the King never had, nor has now, the least thought of abandoning the King of Prussia to his enemies, nor of deserting his alliance, all which Count Finckenstein promised faithfully to report to the King, his master.

I then acquainted Count Finckenstein with that part of the dispatch which relates personally to the Earl of Bute, and read to him the extracts of that Earl's letters to Mr. Keith of the 2nd and 6th of February last, in order to show the Count the absolute improbability of that Lord's holding any conversation or making any insinuation to Prince Galitzin, contradictory to the orders the King his master had sent to Mr. Keith at Petersbourg; and I desired the Count to state these facts immediately and circumstantially to the King of Prussia, as I thought they could not fail to make an impression. This he promised to do in the fairest and most candid manner. I at the same time insinuated to the Count the reason why his Majesty did not think proper to write to the King of Prussia, but had chosen to enable me to explain and set forth in their true light such facts as have either erroneously or maliciously been misrepresented to the King of Prussia.

Yesterday Count Finckenstein acquainted me that he had made to the King, his master, a full communication of everything that had passed between us last Thursday afternoon, and that he was ordered to tell me that his Prussian Majesty was extremely sensible of the decla-

ration the King had been pleased to make of his never having had, nor now having, the least thought of abandoning the King of Prussia to his enemies, nor of deserting his alliance, and that he was directed to assure me that his Majesty might depend upon an exact reciprocity of sentiments on his, King of Prussia's, part. I then asked the Count whether he had nothing in charge concerning the subsidy and other points mentioned in Lord Bute's dispatch ; he answered, the King of Prussia had said nothing upon them, and that for his part, they were of so delicate a nature that he would make no remarks whatever.

I am, &c.

Mr. Mitchell to the Right Honourable George Grenville, Esq.

Breslaw, Wednesday, 16th June, 1762.

Sir,

Since my last, of the 13th, I am honoured with your letter of the 28th May. No alteration is yet made in the position of either of the armies, but it is reported that Marshal Daun has sent off his heavy artillery and baggage, from whence it is conjectured that he intends to move backwards to the gorges of the mountains.

Yesterday the Duke of Bevern arrived here with four bataillons and some provincial hussars. In the order of battle, he, as General of infantry, commands the second line ; but it is said he will soon be detached with a considerable corps into the higher Silesia.

General Chernichew, who was arrived at *Thorn* about twelve days ago, immediately dispatched Prince

Dalgoruky with a letter to the King of Prussia, acquainting him that he was ready to begin his march, and hoped to be able to join his Prussian Majesty by the end of this month or the beginning of the next.

I am informed, from good authority, that the only instruction the Emperor of Russia gave to General Chernichew, was, to obey implicitly the King of Prussia's orders, adding at the same time to that General, that upon his strict compliance depended his future fortunes. If this be true, the twenty thousand Russian auxiliaries may possibly be of more effectual service to the King of Prussia in the present campaign than the whole Russian army have ever been to the House of Austria since the commencement of the war; for it is plain that many fair opportunities have been lost during the former campaigns by the disputes of the Russian and Austrian Generals concerning the manner of executing the plans of operations which had been concerted.

Prince Repnin is named by the Emperor of Russia his Minister Plenipotentiary to the King of Prussia, and I am informed he is to serve at the same time in the auxiliary corps in his rank of brigadier.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Right Honourable George Grenville, Esq.

Breslaw, Wednesday, 23rd June, 1762.

SIR,

Since my last, of the 20th, three mails are arrived from England, by which I have the honour of

your letter of the 1st instant; and I shall not fail to make a suitable compliment, in the King's name, to his Prussian Majesty upon the happy conclusion of peace with Russia and Sweden. I am informed that some days ago the ratifications of both these treaties arrived here.

Lieutenant-General Tauensien, Commandant of Breslaw, has received orders to lay a bridge of boats over the *Oder* at *Auras*, where, it is said, the Cossacks belonging to the Russian auxiliaries will pass on the 25th, but the infantry under General Chernichew will not arrive till the 30th instant.

I have received from Mr. Keith a letter of the 6th of this month, inclosing a copy of a note dated at St. Petersbourg the 24th May, old stile, and delivered to all the foreign Ministers, by which it appears that the Emperor had chosen Berlin for the place of holding a Congress, under the mediation of the King of Prussia, in order to settle, if possible, amicably his disputes with the Crown of Denmark, and his Imperial Majesty has actually named his Ministers for that purpose; the said Congress is to be opened on the 1st of July, old stile. I do not think it necessary to send a copy of this paper as you will have already received it directly from Mr. Keith, but I cannot help taking notice, from the tenor of it, that the Emperor seems to have little expectation of succeeding in his views by the way of negociation, and I am confirmed in this conjecture by what is confidently reported here, viz., that the Czar is actually set out from Petersbourg, and will be in Pomerania by the middle of July.

Yesterday morning, Margrave Charles of Brandenbourg, General of Infantry, and Grand Master of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, died here after a very tedious illness.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Bute.

Most secret.

Breslaw, Sunday, 23rd June, 1762.

MY LORD,

I cannot help suspecting that the most material article of all is suppress, viz., what the King of Prussia promised to the Emperor of Russia, but it may in some measure be gathered from the first separate article of the treaty. The second separate article appears to me to be only a blind to cover, under colour of a future treaty of alliance, an agreement already concluded between the two powers, which perhaps may not yet be reduced into form.

I am led into these conjectures from the following circumstances: the march of the General Chernichew to the King of Prussia's assistance, which is certain. The manner in which Count Schwerin has talked publickly since his arrival here, viz., that he had told the Emperor that the King of Prussia was sorry in his present situation not to be able to assist the Emperor, but that if the differences between Denmark and the Emperor could not be amicably settled by the time this war was over, the King of Prussia would assist the

Emperor with a body of troops; that he, King of Prussia, hoped, in order to accelerate his peace with the House of Austria, his Imperial Majesty would immediately march fourteen thousand men to his assistance; to which the Emperor replyed that he would give twenty thousand, and twenty thousand more in case of any misfortune happening in Silesia.

Though Count Schwerin is young and very vain, I cannot help believing that the substance of the above conversation is true. He has likewise, with great indiscretion, talked of other things which I have not now time to mention.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Right Hon. George Grenville, Esq.

Separate.

Breslaw, Wednesday, 30th June, 1762.

SIR,

As the season is now far advanced, and the King of Prussia has begun to move from the quarters of cantonment he hath hitherto occupied, it is believed the operations of the campaign will be begun forthwith, I therefore think proper to give you the best accounts I have been able to pick up of the effective strength of the Austrian and Prussian armies, as well in Silesia as in Saxony.

As I am informed the Austrian army in Silesia, according to the *Prima Plana*, amounts to one hundred and twenty thousand, but its effective strength is com-

puted about ninety thousand men; I have not been able to get a list of the regiments that compose this army. I hear they have detached four or five regiments into Saxony, besides the corps under General Beck in the higher Silesia, which is reckoned about fifteen thousand, so that the whole of their force near *Schweidnitz* may be about seventy thousand men. The garrison of that fortress is considerable and said to be composed of pickets from the different regiments.

The King of Prussia's army in Silesia, exclusive of garrisons, consists of eighty-two bataillons and one hundred and forty-three squadrons, which, if compleat, should amount to one hundred and two thousand, but we reckon it near eighty thousand men effective. From this army there are detached into the higher Silesia, under the command of the Duke of Bevern and General Verner, twenty-six bataillons and fifty-two squadrons. The Russian corps, under General Chernichew, amounts to fifteen thousand, including one thousand Cossacks; so that the Silesian army, commanded by the King of Prussia, may be reckoned ninety-five thousand men.

It is imagined the King of Prussia, leaving a corps for the protection of the country, will move by his right with the rest of his army, and endeavour to get possession of Zittaw in Lusatia, by which the entry into Bohemia is open; and if he should succeed in the attempt, the Austrian army in Saxony will be between two fires, and cut off from any direct communication with Marshal Daun's army and from Bohemia; for that part of Saxony they are in possession

of is not sufficient to supply them with subsistence. On the other hand the retrogade motions which Marshal Daun has made towards the mountains, makes it probable that he suspects his Prussian Majesty's design, and, therefore, may be able to prevent it. One great difficulty the King of Prussia will have in the execution of this project arises from the want of waggons and other carriages for the subsistence of the army; but it is said he has found means to remedy this by getting together all the carriages in Silesia, which, however, would not have been sufficient, if he had been obliged to carry dry forage for the cavalry; but as the country they march through is plentifull and cultivated, they will be amply supplied with green forage.

The Austrian army in Saxony (including that of the Empire, which consists of twenty-four bataillons and six squadrons) amounts to seventy-nine bataillons and one hundred and eight squadrons. I know nothing of their effective strength, but they are much superior in number to the Prussians in that Electorate, for the whole army of his Royal Highness Prince Henry amounts only to forty-seven bataillons and eighty squadrons, the real and effective strength of which does not exceed twenty-six thousand men. His Royal Highness still keeps possession of *Freyberg*, and it is imagined will begin to operate so soon as his Prussian Majesty shall move from hence.

The only new corps that have been raised since the beginning of this war are four or five bataillons

of hussars by Colonel Belling, some squadrons of free dragoons by Major-General Kleist, and twenty-two or three free bataillons, composed of the very dregs of mankind, the greatest part of which are at present in Prince Henry's army. This year his Prussian Majesty intended to have raised a corps of one thousand Bosniacks, of which there are only six hundred serving on horseback in this army; they are dressed somewhat in the Turkish manner, wear turbans, and are armed with a long spear, to which is fixed a *banderolle.* The novelty of their appearance at first made some impression in the Austrian soldiers; but they soon found that the Bosniacks were chiefly deserters and Silesian peasants in masquerade dresses, there being in the whole corps not above fifty Turks or Polanders.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Right Hon. George Grenville, Esq.

Breslaw, Wednesday, 7th July, 1762.

SIR,

Since my last of the 4th, my letters have been acknowledged from your office.

The King of Prussia having taken possession of the camp of *Buntzelwitz* (the same in which he was besieged last year for upwards of two months by the joint forces of Austria and Russia) made several detachments into the mountains in order to turn the enemy in their camp of *Kuntzendorff;* and to give

them jealousy for their magazines and for their communication with Bohemia, his Prussian Majesty marched yesterday in three columns by *Hohen Friedberg*, and has his quarter at *Quolsdorff*, leaving the gross of his army under the command of General Zeithen in the camp of *Buntzelwitz*. Upon this movement Marshal Daun thought proper to make an alteration in his position, and is now encamped *en potence* between *Fürstenstein* and *Bögendorff*, which post is considered as almost inattackable. This day I hear the King of Prussia has sent General Brauen with a detachment to occupy the town of *Landshutt*.

It is reported from Saxony that Marshal Serbelloni had made a general attack, with the whole grenadiers, upon the posts of Prince Henry's army, from which he had been repulsed with very considerable loss.

I am informed the auxiliary corps of Russians are paid by the Emperor, but receive from the King of Prussia the rations of forage, portions of bread, beef, and other douceurs usually allowed to the Russian soldiers in the field. The number of this corps greatly exceeds what was at first reported, for I am well assured they amount to twenty-two thousand fighting men; though it is said at the same time that no less than three hundred deserted on their march from the *Vistula* to the *Oder*.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Right Hon. George Grenville, Esq.

Breslaw, Wednesday, 14th July, 1762.

SIR,

Since my last of the 11th there are no letters from England and nothing has happened here worth notice. The armies in the mountains, behind *Schweidnitz*, remain in the same position as mentioned in my last letter.

The news of Count Neuweidt's march to *Brannau* was premature, he was indeed as far as *Wiese*, on the frontier of Bohemia, which gave occasion to that report; but by the latest accounts, he was in the mountains acting in concert with the corps commanded by his Prussian Majesty.

General Brentano, with his corps, has got into Bohemia, so the Prussian detachment of light troops will be able to do little more than to alarm the country and carry off some plunder under the name of contribution, unless the King of Prussia will reinforce those detachments, or send a body of regular troops to make head against Brentano.

All the movements Marshal Daun has yet made are extremely equivocal, nor can any thing certain be concluded from them concerning his real intentions, whilst he continues to keep open his communication with the fortress of *Schweidnitz* and with the county of Glatz. If the King of Prussia should think proper to attack the Marshal, in the position he now occupies, the success, it is thought, would be very doubtful, and

the attempt cannot fail to be attended with great loss of men. That mentioned in my last to have been made by Count Neuweidt, upon the *Englesberg*, cost no less than twelve hundred men.

The latest accounts from the higher Silesia say that the Duke of Bevern was near Troppau, General Verner at Fulneck, and that General Beck was at *Böhrn*, between *Hoff* and *Sternberg*, keeping still open his communication with the county of Glatz.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Right Hon. George Grenville, Esq.

Breslaw, Friday, 23rd July, 1762.

SIR,

Since my last of the 21st, by post, there are no letters from England.

On the 21st, in the morning, the King of Prussia attacked the right of Marshal Daun's army posted upon the heights near the village of *Burckersdorff*, which were carried by the Prussians. An attack was then ordered to be made upon the villages of *Ludwigsdorff* and *Leuthmansdorff*, from which the Austrians were likewise drove, and by these successes their communication with *Schweidnitz* was entirely cut off. The next day it was resolved to have attacked the post of *Barsdorff*, towards the left of Marshal Daun's army near *Tanhausen*, where the head quarter was, but the accounts received last night bear that Marshal Daun was retired with part of his army towards *Braunau*, in Bohemia, and that the

other part had withdrawn into the county of Glatz; so it is believed his Prussian Majesty will immediately form the siege of *Schweidnitz*, the garrison of which is said to consist of fifteen or sixteen thousand men.

As no authentic *relation* has yet been received of what happened on the 21st and 22nd instant, it is impossible to say anything with certainty of the loss on either side; but the reports are, that, in these different attacks, the Prussians took fourteen pieces of cannon, and made upwards of one thousand prisoners; that the desertion in the Austrian army was very great; and that the loss of the Prussians does not exceed three hundred men.

I know nothing certain concerning the operations of the corps of Prussians under the Duke of Bevern and General Verner, nor of the position of Prince Henry's army in Saxony.

I have, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Right Honourable George Grenville, Esq.

Breslaw, Friday, 6th August, 1762.

SIR,

Since my last of the 31st July, by post, my letter to you of the 4th, same month, has been acknowledged from your office.

I arrived at *Dittmansdorff* on the 1st instant, and found his Prussian Majesty much occupied with the dispositions he was making for the siege of *Schweidnitz*. The trenches before that place will be opened on

Sunday or Monday next. There are twenty-two bataillons of infantry destined to form the siege, the whole to be commanded by Lieutenant-General Tauensin, who has under him Major-General Thadden, and Monsieur Le Fevre as chief engineer. They reckon to be masters of the place in three weeks ; but this is only conjecture.

The fortress of Schweidnitz is situated in a plain, about two English miles distant from the foot of the mountains. The town is surrounded with a wall, but the strength of the place consists in several small forts and redoutes, which form an oval figure about the town. The works in general are not esteemed, but the situation, as well as the fortifications, of this place will be better understood by a plan I sent to the Earl of Holdernesse in the month of April or May, 1758. I have endeavoured to get another plan, but it is not yet come to hand, and I cannot detain the messenger.

The garrison of *Schweidnitz* consists of about nine thousand. Monsieur de Guasco, the eldest, is commandant. He has under him Monsieur Janini, and Monsieur de Grimbovale, a French ingineer of some reputation, who, since the beginning of this war, has entered into the Empress Queen's service.

The Prussian infantry are partly cantoned in the villages, and partly encamped on the hills behind *Schweidnitz.* Their position varies daily according to the motions of the enemy, who still continue to occupy some posts in Silesia, upon the frontier of Bohemia ; but it is said the gross of their army is in the county of

Glatz. The Prussian cavalry form a chain in the plain from *Kuntzendorff* to *Reichenback* and *Frankenstein*, near which last place the Duke of Wurtemberg is encamped, as well to watch the motions of the enemy in the county of Glatz, as to cover the artillery and military stores which are bringing from *Neisse*.

His Prussian Majesty will himself command the army that is to cover the siege, and he has ordered three different camps to be marked out, which he will occupy occasionally, as the motions of the enemy may require.

By the best accounts I have been able to procure, I believe the loss on the side of the Prussians, since they began to act, may amount to three thousand men; and if the nature of the country in which they fought, be considered, it is surprising the number is not double or triple, for every hill in that country has been converted into a fortress.

The successful attack made upon the Burckersdorff, on the 21st July, was executed entirely by Prussian troops. The Russians were mere spectators, and remained quiet in their camp; but their appearance was, no doubt, of great service. They separated that evening from the Prussian army, and marched the next day towards the *Oder*, and, we hear, are now arrived at *Posen*.

I have, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Right Hon. George Grenville, Esq.

Secret.

Breslaw, Friday, 6th August, 1762.

SIR,

In my last, of the 31st July, I acquainted you that I was that day set out for the head quarter at *Dittmansdorff*, in order to make the important communication, I was directed by your dispatch of the 14th July, and to deliver to the King of Prussia copies of the papers contained in that dispatch. I am now to give you an account in what manner I have executed the commission I was charged with, and of every thing that passed on that occasion, though I am not yet enabled to give any satisfactory answer to the most material parts of your letter. I think proper to dispatch this messenger forthwith, that you may have the earliest notice of some events which have come to my knowledge, and which, I hope, may contribute to bring into execution his Majesty's generous intentions of procuring universal peace to Europe.

I arrived at *Dittmansdorff* last Sunday, and had the same day an audience of the King of Prussia, who received me with great civility and frankness. He began by giving an account of the late revolution in Russia, and of what had happened since, I mean the death of Peter the III[d]. ; but as Mr. Keith will have transmitted distinct and accurate accounts of all that has passed, and of the circumstances with which those extraordinary events were accompanied, I think it

needless to enter into any farther detail concerning them.

After expressing my concern for the loss of the late Emperor, and for the disappointment his Prussian Majesty must have met with by the withdrawing of the Russian auxiliary corps, I took the liberty to ask upon what terms he was with the new Empress, as I had heard alarming reports with regard to her intentions. The King of Prussia answered, there was indeed reason to be alarmed, for that Marshal Soltikoff (upon the first news of the Emperor's being dethroned) had obliged his subjects in Prussia to take the oath of fidelity to the new Empress, and that the Russian Generals in Pomerania had received orders to keep possession of that country. These orders, he said, he believed were founded on an ill-grounded suspicion, that the King of Prussia would have stopt the corps of Russian auxiliaries and prevented their separating from his army, but that as soon as it was known that the corps of Chernichew had marched off unmolested, Colberg had been delivered up, and the Russian troops were actually marching out of that country; that what Marshal Soltikoff had done by administering anew the oath of fidelity to the inhabitants of Prussia, had been disavowed by his Court, and the Marshal had received orders to evacuate Prussia, and forthwith to return home with the troops under his command. I could not help congratulating his Prussian Majesty on this great and unexpected act of generous friendship on the part of the new Empress, which, I added, had far surpassed my expectations; and mine

too, replyed the King of Prussia, and I have but this morning received from Prince Repnin the formal notification of the Empress's intentions and of her confirming the late treaty of peace.

When I asked whether her Imperial Majesty had likewise confirmed the treaty of an offensive and defensive alliance, signed, as I had heard, in the month of June last, between the late Emperor and his Prussian Majesty; he said, that was not to be expected, but he believed the Empress would take no farther part in the present war, and might have occasion for her troops at home, as the country was not yet quiet, and was greatly exhausted of men and money by the efforts they had already made. He concluded with saying, that though he was deeply affected with the loss of his friend, Peter the III[d]., he had found it necessary to comply with the times, and therefore had ordered his minister, Monsieur de Goltz, to make compliments of congratulation, in his name, to the new Empress, on her accession to the throne of Russia; and, I hear, that he has directed him to follow her Imperial Majesty to Moscow, where she is to be crowned on the 1st of September next, old stile.

Upon the whole, I find it is the King of Prussia's opinion, that the confusion in Russia is not yet at an end, and may still have farther consequences; that many of those who were dissatisfied with the abdication and confinement of the late Emperor, will be provoked at his death, which was sudden, and attended with circumstances of suspicion not easy to be removed; notwithstanding all the pains which have been taken

to satisfy the people that the Emperor's death was natural and occasioned by his own intemperance. In this situation the Empress is desirous of having her armies at home to secure the peace of her Empire, and to quiet her people, who were alarmed with reports of an intended invasion by the Tartars, from all which circumstances his Prussian Majesty concluded, that Russia would meddle no farther in the present troubles; but the dispatches brought by a Russian courier to Prince Repnin, the night before I left *Dittmansdorff*, gave ground to hope that the new Empress will interpose her good offices to bring about a general peace.

So soon as this conversation about the affairs of Russia was ended, I took occasion to mention to the King of Prussia, after recommending secrecy, the communications I was directed to make by the King's express order, which I said were of the utmost importance, and afforded the strongest proof of his Majesty's persevering in the same friendly disposition towards the King of Prussia, who, by this means, would have an opportunity of opening, through his Majesty's canal, any ideas of his own, in order to the promoting of the great and salutary work of a speedy pacification; and I took notice, that in the answer returned by the King, his Majesty had given no encouragement whatever to hope for the admission made by the proposal of the Court of Vienna, but referred to what his Majesty might be authorised by the King of Prussia to say in relation to it. Hitherto the King of Prussia had

hearkened with great attention, but the moment I mentioned the Court of Vienna, he said, with some impatience, I expect nothing good from that quarter, and immediately turned the conversation upon indifferent matters; and I did not think proper at that time to insist any farther, nor to offer him the papers, which I had ready about me, hoping that what I had said would be sufficient to excite his curiosity, and to make him ask for them after he had had some time to reflect on our conversation; but this did not happen; and as I thought I perceived either a real or an affected coolness and indifference of receiving any farther information, I, in an audience I had of the King of Prussia the next day, delivered to him copies of all the papers contained in your dispatch of the 14th July; and in order that he might have the whole transaction before him at one view, I likewise delivered copies of the papers transmitted in Lord Bute's dispatch to me of the 9th of April (which I had before read to his Prussian Majesty, but without giving copies, as directed by his Lordship), and I then proceeded to make the observations, which were suggested in your dispatch of the 14th July, upon the proposals made to his Majesty by the Court of Versailles, relative to the other objects of the German war, all which he heard with attention, but gave no answer.

The next day I again waited on his Prussian Majesty, and took the liberty of asking if he yet had time to consider of the papers I had delivered to him. He answered that the matters they contained were of too

important a nature to expect an answer immediately—that he must have a little time to consider of them, as, in the present moment, his thoughts were totally occupied with the preparations that were making for the besieging of *Schweidnitz;* but he promised very soon, *d'y repondre ministerialement,* and concluded with desiring me, in the strongest and most cordial manner, to return thanks to His Majesty for the important communications made through me, which he should ever consider as marks of his Majesty's good faith, friendship, and kind attention towards him. I then took leave of his Prussian Majesty and returned to Breslaw last night, as I found my health sensibly altered by the fatigue I had had in the mountains.

I have, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Right Hon. George Grenville, Esq.

Separate and secret.

Breslaw, Friday, 6th August, 1762.

SIR,

I shall now give an account of some conversations I had, during my stay at *Dittmansdorff,* with Prince Repnin, Minister Plenipotentiary from the Empress of Russia, who, having received new credence from his mistress the Empress, is to continue his functions in that station with the King of Prussia, and I believe will, when the siege of Schweidnitz is over, come to reside at *Breslaw.*

I think it unnecessary to repeat the account he gave me of the late revolution, nor of the death of the Emperor, which happened the 17th July, on the road to Slusselburg—a fortress—where he was to be imprisoned, and which, it is said, was occasioned *par une cholique hemeroidale*, to which his Imperial Majesty was subject, but which was increased by his intemperance; nor shall I mention the reports which have been spread of the Emperor's intention to poison his wife, and to marry his mistress the Countess Elizabeth Woronzow, who, it is said, is with child, for this unfortunate Prince is even charged with a design of altering the succession, in prejudice to his own son and in favour of this unborn child; all those reports, and many others not worth mentioning, seem to me highly improbable, and greatly exaggerated in order to justify the late revolution (for which a reason must be given to the people). His real crime was a contempt for the nation he was to govern, which he showed too openly on every occasion, and thereby made himself a number of enemies; add to this, infinite conceit of himself, imagining that he was capable to execute every project which Peter the Great had formed, and that by a servile imitation he was instantaneously to become as formidable a warrior as the King of Prussia, whom he had chose for his model. His bad conduct with regard to his wife, his natural weakness and levity and precipitation with which he acted in the most important affairs, afforded more than sufficient handles for his destruction, without supposing him either criminal or

malicious, yet hints of this kind are thrown out by authority, but do not acquire thereby any degree of credibility.

When I enquired of Prince Repnin whether Marshal Soltikoff had orders to administer anew the oath of fidelity to the Prussian subjects, he answered he had none, but his zeal for the Empress's service had induced him to think it a proper measure; that so soon as the Empress had received news that the corps of her troops were separated from the Prussian army, and marching towards Poland, she had immediately ordered the Prussian subjects to be released from the new oath they had taken to her, and directed the Marshal to evacuate the country and to return home. I commended the Empress's generosity, and I supposed, then, her Imperial Majesty considered the late treaty of peace concluded between Peter the III[d]. and the King of Prussia, as subsisting in its full force. Prince Repnin answered, he had the day before received a courier from Petersbourg empowering him to notify this to the King of Prussia, which had given great satisfaction. We then fell insensibly into general conversation, in the course of which that gentleman assured me that the Empress intended to live in the strictest union and friendship with the King my master; that her intentions were entirely pacifick, and, he hoped, agreeable to those of his Majesty, that he could not help suspecting that my errand here was to talk to the King of Prussia of peace. I told him frankly he had guessed well, but though the affair was an absolute

secret, I would venture to trust him, and then I gave him a very general idea of my commission, without entering into particulars, and without showing any papers, but desired, that in case the King of Prussia should talk to him upon the subject, he would appear entirely ignorant, which he promised. I then added, that though I was informed of the perfect harmony that happily subsisted between our two Courts, I should not have gone so far, if I had not at the same time been well assured of his, Prince Repnin's personal character and friendly intentions. He seemed pleased with the compliment, and we parted soon after.

The next morning, early, Prince Repnin came to my quarter and acquainted me that in the night a courier was arrived from Petersbourg, who had brought him some orders, which he, in return for the confidence I had shown him, would communicate to me, and at the same time desired my advice as to the manner of executing the order he had received.

He was directed to acquaint his Prussian Majesty that the Empress, wishing to put an end to the troubles in Europe, was willing to exert her good offices for the salutary purpose of bringing about a general pacification; that she was, therefore, desirous of being informed what the King of Prussia's ideas were upon that subject, which her Minister was ordered to communicate without loss of time. I told Prince Repnin, that from the conversation I had had with the King of Prussia, I doubted if he was prepared to answer the question, having flattered himself during the life of the late

Emperor with dreams of conquest, and the hopes of dictating a peace, that he would probably endeavour to shifft giving any answer, but I thought the best way was to be very pressing, and to insist in the Empress's name for an immediate answer, which could not with decency be refused, after the generous manner in which she had so lately treated the King of Prussia; and I added, that I had intended asking an audience that morning, but would delay till the afternoon, as I wished the Prince had his audience first, to all which he agreed.

Accordingly, after the *parolle*, the Prince had his audience of the King of Prussia, of which he gave me an account immediately after it was over, to this purpose, that it was difficult for him, King of Prussia, to have any fixed ideas upon that subject, as his pretensions must vary with his situation; to which the Prince answered, that it was sufficient to communicate the ideas he now had, without being tyed by them. To this the King of Prussia replyed, that he had already communicated to the late Emperor. The Prince said he doubted that would not be sufficient to answer her Imperial Majesty's purpose, as she had directed him to send as early and explicit information as possible upon that head; but that, if his Prussian Majesty thought proper to make the communication directly to his own Minister at Petersbourg, he offered to send the letter to Monsieur de Goltz by a courier he intended to dispatch the next day. The King of Prussia said he would send him a letter to Goltz.

In the afternoon I had my last audience of the King of Prussia, of which, as I have given an account in my *secret letter* of this date, I need say nothing more. I cannot, however, help observing upon the King of Prussia's behaviour, as well to Prince Repnin as to me, that all this *menagement* is calculated to gain time; that he wishes to see how the campaign is like to end before he begins to speak of terms of accommodation; at least, that he is desirous to be master of *Schweidnitz*, which, he reckons, may be in three or four weeks; that then he will be able to treat upon a more equal footing.

As the last instruction sent to Prince Repnin agrees so perfectly with his Majesty's views of procuring a speedy pacification, I think it of the utmost consequence that you should have the earliest notice of the manner in which it has been received here by the King of Prussia. I, therefore, dispatch Maddox the messenger, without having lost one moment since my return from *Dittmansdorff*.

I have, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to Mr. Grenville

Berlin, Saturday, 13th November, 1762.

SIR,

I had the honour of acquainting you, by my letter of the 3rd instant from Breslaw, with my intention of leaving that place. Accordingly, I set out from

thence on the 5th, and arrived here on Wednesday last, the 10th instant.

I informed you in my last, of the 3rd instant, of the accounts then known at Breslaw of Prince Henry's victory of the 29th October, and I have now the honour of transmitting to you an authentick *relation* of that important affair. The corps under Lieutenant-General Neuweidt has joined his Royal Highness Prince Henry's army, which has advanced beyond *Freyberg;* but it is doubted whether he will be able to force the post of *Dippoldiswalde.* It is reported that, since the junction with the corps under Count Neuweidt, his Royal Highness had gained another advantage over the combined army, and that he had taken eight hundred prisoners and some pieces of canon in the forest of *Tharant,* between *Willsdruff* and *Freyberg.* It is also said that he had detached Major-General Kleist into Bohemia with an intention to destroy the Austrian magazine at *Leitmeritz.*

The King of Prussia, upon receiving the news of the victory gained by his brother, left the corps of troops he was leading into Saxony, and set out in person for that Electorate, and arrived on the 7th instant at *Torgau,* from which place he went to *Meissen,* where he still remains.

His Royal Highness the Prince of Prussia, who parted with his Prussian Majesty at *Schweidnitz,* and has been here for these ten days past, sets out to-morrow to join the King, his uncle, at *Meissen.*

As I have received no letter from you since the

1st of October last, I wait with the greatest impatience for news from England.

I have, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

P.S.—I have this moment received notice that the preliminaries between England, France, and Spain were signed at *Fontainbleau* the 2nd instant, of which Monsieur de Berkenrode, the Dutch Ambassador at *Paris*, had acquainted his Court by a messenger, and the news is said to have come here by an estaffette dispatched from the Hague, the 7th instant. A. M.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Halifax.

Berlin, Saturday, 20th November, 1762.

MY LORD,

Since I had the honour of writing to your Lordship the 16th instant, I have no letter from you, but the arrival of Pollock, the messenger, on the 22nd, with my dispatches of the 8th of October, has been notified from your Lordship's office; what letters have been sent since will, in course of the post, be returned to me from *Breslaw*.

Nothing has happened in Silesia nor in Saxony, where the troops are preparing to enter into winter quarters. His Prussian Majesty still continues at *Meissen*, where, it is thought, he will remain till the quarters are settled, and then go to Leipzig to pass the winter.

His Royal Highness Prince Henry is at *Freyberg*, and I hear there was a most friendly interview between the brothers. The King of Prussia told the Prince that he

came only to pay him a visit, and not to meddle in the affairs of the campaign which he had so nobly conducted; and, after thanking him in a most affectionate manner for the great services he had done, his Prussian Majesty made him a present of certain fiefs, which had devolved to the Crown by the death of the late Margrave Charles of Brandenburg, the value of which is said to be ten thousand crowns per annum, with survivorship to the Princess, his wife, and at the same time was pleased to confirm all the promotion his Royal Highness had made in the army.

Monsieur de Soltikow, Minister Plenipotentiary from the Empress of Russia to the Court of France, set out from hence last Thursday, and Mr. Keith is just arrived from Petersbourg.

I have, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

CHAPTER XV.

1763—1771.

CORRESPONDENCE FROM THE END OF THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR (1763) TO MITCHELL'S DEATH IN 1771—MITCHELL'S OPINION AND REPORT OF WHAT FREDERIC'S SUBJECTS SUFFERED FROM THE WAR, AND FROM FREDERIC'S SUBSEQUENT MAL-ADMINISTRATION—LETTERS FROM JAMES BOSWELL, MRS. MONTAGU, JAMES HARRIS, THE FATHER OF LORD MALMESBURY, &c.—MITCHELL'S DEATH—ANECDOTES OF HIM—CHARACTER BY CONTEMPORARIES.

THE dispatches and journals given in the eight preceding chapters furnish a tolerably complete picture of Mitchell's life for the preceding seven years. It will be seen that that life was one of no ordinary labour and anxiety, as well as danger. The ordinary life of a diplomatist possesses little interest for the general reader; we shall therefore limit our further selection from Mitchell's voluminous dispatches to two or three letters, showing the general terms on which the peace was concluded; to two or three more, throwing light on a part of the subject, for information respecting which it were vain to look to German writers, till the German press has attained a degree of liberty which is incompatible with the nature of German governments; and to some general correspondence.

In regard to the severity of Mitchell's remarks on Frederic's treatment of his subjects, on that part of his conduct which "seemed to have been dictated by vanity, fraud, and avarice," it may be proper to observe that it is not inconsistent with Mitchell's high opinion of that monarch's talents as a soldier and statesman, as a man possessed of talents for business of the highest order. M. Von Raumer has attempted to answer Mitchell's strictures, but his arguments, like those of all the German writers on this and similar topics, are like those of an advocate acting under the influence of a despotism which will only hear one side of the question. The poor Germans, no less than the subjects of the other continental potentates, had long suffered all that the "vanity, fraud, and avarice" of a few families, who were reared in the imagination that mankind were only created to serve them as beasts of burden or as beasts for slaughter, could inflict. All the wars of the first ninety years of the 18th century, with all the unspeakable sufferings and miseries they brought with and after them, were for no higher object than an increase of territory or of dignity to the small number of human beings whom it has pleased the inscrutable decrees of Providence to make Kings or Queens of France, Spain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia. The history of the three last is simply the history of robber captains, who having first contrived to reduce all the members of their bands to the condition of the purest slavery, then employed them in plundering, not for themselves, but for their captains. No wonder that

these robber tyrants were affected with a feeling something stronger than surprise when, at the commencement of the 19th century, they saw a man who had been a few years before a sub-lieutenant of artillery, take up their calling on a much larger scale than had been practised for ages.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Halifax.[1]

Berlin, Saturday, 5th February, 1763.

My Lord,

Having wrote fully to your Lordship, the 3rd instant, by Bullock, the messenger, little remains for me to say. His Royal Highness Prince Henry of Prussia is gone to *Rhinsberg* for a few days. Last Thursday Prince Dolgorucky, the Russian Minister to this Court, arrived here, and set out the next day for Leipzig, without seeing any body in this place. Prince Repnin is expected here next week.

I have this moment received notice from Leipzig, by a canal, which I think absolutely certain, that the courier dispatched to Vienna, is returned to Leipzig, with a confirmation of all the articles stipulated in the conferences at *Hubertsbourg*, and that they are actually employed in reducing those articles into a formal treaty. I thought proper to give your Lordship the earliest information of this, though I have yet received no notification from the King of Prussia's Ministers. The conditions of this peace are said to be that things

[1] George Montagu, 3rd Earl of Halifax of that name.

remain on the same footing as before the war, without indemnification to any of the parties.

I have, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Halifax.

Most private.

Berlin, Tuesday, 8th February, 1763.

MY LORD,

Last night I waited on Prince Henry of Prussia to congratulate him on the news of peace. He was pleased to shew me in confidence a letter he had received at Rhinsberg from the King, his brother, assuring me at the same time it was all he knew of that affair.

The letter is dated the 2nd instant, at *Leipzig*, and in it he acquaints the Prince that every thing was settled and agreed upon; that the treaties, though then not actually signed, were to be signed sometime this week, but he enters into no particulars of the conditions stipulated. There is, however, this remarkable paragraph: *You know too well my manner of thinking to believe that I am capable of making a dishonourable peace, or which can in the least be prejudicial to posterity. It is the best that could be made in the present circumstances.* From which I cannot help concluding that some concessions have been made by the King of Prussia, though they are still kept secret, with what view I know not.

I have, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Halifax.

Berlin, Tuesday, 15th February, 1763.

My Lord,

Since my last of the 12th, the letters of the 18th and 22nd of January have been acknowledged from your office.

Count Finckenstein writes to me from Leipzig, of the 11th, that, though everything was settled, nothing was yet signed, but that he hoped very soon to congratulate me upon the peace being actually concluded; as he says, however, nothing of the conditions agreed upon, I must refer to what I have said upon this subject in my former letters to your Lordship, and have only to add that it is believed the King of Prussia has promised to give his vote as Elector for the Arch-Duke Joseph to be chosen King of the Romans. If the terms of accommodation are but nearly such, as they have been reported to be, sure never was a vote better or more judiciously bestowed.

Though no body here doubts of the reality of the approaching peace, they cannot agree as to the cause of this sudden and total change of sentiments in the Court of Vienna. Some ascribe it to a failure in their finances, and say that the Emperor (who has already advanced very large sums) has refused to lend any more upon mortgages; others say that the Arch-Duke Joseph has declared for peace, to which the Empress Queen is likewise disposed; that Count Kaunitz' credit sinks daily; and that even Marshal Daun wishes for

peace, having, by the three last campaigns, lost that reputation he had acquired at the beginning of the war. Such, my Lord, are the conjectures of politicians here, hardly sufficient to account for the extraordinary event of the Court of Vienna being willing to submit to a treaty of the King of Prussia's dictating.

I have, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Halifax.

Separate.

Berlin, Thursday, 17th February, 1763.

MY LORD,

Though I make no doubt the King of Prussia has dispatched a courier from Leipzig directly for England, to acquaint his Majesty that the definitive treaties of peace between the Empress Queen, the Elector of Saxony, and himself, were signed on the 15th instant, at the castle of Hubertsbourg, I think proper to send this by a messenger, chiefly to transmit to your Lordship a copy of a letter of notification of this most important transaction, which I received very late last night from Count Finckenstein. Permit me most sincerely to congratulate your Lordship on this happy event, which still, I think, surpasses the bounds of human probability.

I confess I am at a loss how to account for his Prussian Majesty's not ordering Count Finckenstein to send me a copy of the treaties, to be forwarded to his Majesty, unless by supposing one has been transmitted

to the Prussian Minister at London, with directions to communicate it to the King; or that he has thought proper to delay making this communication till the treaties are ratified and exchanged, which is expected will be by the 25th of this month.

As to the contents of these treaties, no body here knows any thing more than what I have mentioned in my former letters, viz., that the *status quo* before the war, and, of consequence, the Treaty of Breslaw, 1742, and that of Dresden, 1745, have been assumed for the basis of the new treaties.

I need not add, that the news of this unexpected peace, glorious, honourable, and advantageous for his Prussian Majesty, has been received with the greatest marks of joy by the subjects of that monarch, who have severely felt, and must, for a long time, feel the effects of this most cruel and destructive war.

I have, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to Mr. Weston.

Berlin, Saturday, 5th March, 1763.

SIR,

I send you here inclosed a printed copy of the plan of the Royal Prussian Lottery projected by Monsieur Calzabigi, an Italian adventurer, who has been in England, and has the impudence to say that his schemes and projects were highly approved of by the King's ministers, though he gives no satisfactory reason why none of them have been adopted in England. The lottery is

a manifest fraud, and greatly disadvantageous to those who are weak to risk money. I have been an eye-witness to the dismal effects that such lotteries have had upon the minds and morals of the lower class of people in more than one part of Italy, without producing any real advantage to the state; but the chief reason for my sending you this paper is, that you may read with due admiration the letters patent of the said lottery, in which his Prussian Majesty affirms that he has laid no taxes whatever upon his subjects, though at the same time it is evident that by the alteration and diminution of the coin, his subjects have, since the beginning of the war, lost two thirds of their personal estate, being paid at the rate of thirty-three for one hundred. I think it unnecessary to take notice of lesser absurdities contained in this patent, which seems to have been dictated by vanity, fraud, and avarice.

I have, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Halifax.

Berlin, Friday, 15th April, 1763.

MY LORD,

Since my last of the 12th, I am honoured with your Lordship's letter of the 5th, inclosing a copy of your note to Monsieur Michel.[2] I shall endeavour, to the best of my power, to obey his Majesty's orders signified to me by that letter. As to the information contained in the cyphered part of it, I believe it absolutely groundless; but I shall make proper enquiries, and

[2] The Prussian minister at the Court of St. James's.

communicate to your Lordship everything I can discover to confirm or refute the same.

His Prussian Majesty continues still here; but it is thought he will go to Potsdam some time next week. He has had ever since his arrival a most disagreeable but necessary occupation of looking into and endeavouring to redress the abuses of government, the powers of which have, for some years past, been as much abused to the detriment and destruction of his subjects, as it is possible to be conceived. I am sorry to say that the King of Prussia has yet done nothing to correct the source of the evil, which arises chiefly from the debasement of the money, and from the different species of false coin actually current in the country, by which some Jews concerned in the coinage, and a few bankers, have raised immense fortunes; but the honest and industrious part of the subjects are reduced to the greatest extremity, and the country is exhausted of all the specie. A new coinage is indeed talked of, which, if it takes place, as it is considerably under the legal standard, will only add to the misery of this country, It is the King of Prussia's peculiar misfortune to have no minister able enough, or honest enough, to represent to him the fatal effects of the repeated breaches of publick faith in the coinage of money, by which his subjects are already drained, and must inevitably be ruined, if the same false system goes on much farther.

I intended to have sent your Lordship a short history of the rise and progress of the debasement of the coin; but I find so much difficulty to gather facts which may

be depended upon, that I must delay it till I can receive more certain information. It is sufficient at present to say that the numerary value is raised to upwards of three hundred for the hundred, by which commerce has been thrown into the greatest confusion, and the poor and middling sort of people have been reduced to the greatest extremity, and rendered almost incapable of purchasing the bare necessaries of life. His Prussian Majesty has indeed given large sums to some of the provinces that have suffered during the war; but all he has done, or can do in that way, are mere palliatives and works of ostentation, without striking at the root of the evil.

I have, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

P.S.—Spencer the messenger arrived here from Moscow last Thursday night, and this day he proceeded on this journey to England. A. M.

The following extracts from Mitchell's dispatches of 18th April, 1763, and 7th Jan., and 19th April, 1764, further illustrate the same subject.

"Nothing the King ever did has so much disgusted and alienated the affections of his people as the rash and inconsiderate steps he has taken with regard to the coin. Jews and Christians are striving with equal zeal and ardour who shall share in the spoils of the people;

but it is hoped the King's wisdom, sagacity, and penetration, will disappoint the flagitious designs of the money-brokers of whatever denomination."

"Several of the merchants and others enriched by the war have erected triumphal arches and other expensive fireworks, loaded with inscriptions in praise of their sovereign. In the meantime the people want bread, and having long felt the calamities of war, are grown mutinous, and almost outrageous."

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Buckinghamshire,[3] *at St. Petersbourg.*

Berlin, Tuesday, 14th August, 1764.

My Lord,

Since my last to your Excellency of the 23rd June, by Ardran the messenger, I am honoured with your letters of the 18th of that month, and of the 3rd and 20th of July. I am glad that the affair mentioned in the last of them has had no farther consequences. The King of Prussia will set out from this place the 20th for Silesia, and it is reported he will be accompanied in that journey by the hereditary Prince of Brunswick. General Reidt, the Imperial Minister, has demanded and obtained his recall from this Court, and I hear he will be succeeded by General Nugent.

His Prussian Majesty, about a fortnight ago, named Mr. Badouin [Secretary] of Legation, to relieve Monsieur Michel at London, and he accordingly set out soon after from this place; but I have yet no notice of his being arrived there.

[3] John Hobart, 2nd Earl of Buckinghamshire.

The King has been pleased to permit me to go to Spa, to drink the waters, for the recovery of my health; and from thence to pass into England. During my absence, Mr. Burnet, my secretary, remains here to carry on the correspondence, and he will carefully and punctually obey any orders he may receive from your Excellency.

To this moment, neither the King of Prussia nor any of his Ministers have hinted to me the least thing concerning the King our master's joining in the alliance with Prussia. I, therefore, imagine, what the Prussian Minister at Petersbourg has said to you was meant only to sound and discover whether you had any instruction upon that head. The behaviour of his Prussian Majesty in the whole affair of the recall of Michel, and in sending a person to succeed him who is invested with no character, as it is disrespectfull, cannot fail to be disagreeable.

I have, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

In regard to the letters in this chapter from various persons to Mitchell, as well as similar letters to him in the preceding chapters, and likewise the letters addressed to him by Field-Marshal Keith and his brother, the Earl Marischal, which will be found in the next chapter, if there be truth, which I think there is, in the observation made by Mr. Southey, in his Life of Cowper, and quoted by Mr. Lockhart, in his Life of

Sir Walter Scott,[4] that, from the style and tone of such letters, a man's character may often be gathered even more surely than from those written by himself, the result is one in the highest degree honourable to Mitchell. "I know you," says the well-known James Boswell, "to be a man of the most perfect honour." And generosity and honour are attributed to Mitchell's character by many men whose own character renders their testimony of the greatest weight: by the Lord President Duncan Forbes, and his son; by Thomson and Murdoch; by Lord Hyde; by the Earls of Essex and Morton; by the Earl Marischal, and his brother, Field-Marshal Keith. But I am inclined to think that withal there was a touch of sternness mixed up with the generosity and justice of Mitchell's character. His portrait, too, gives one some such idea. When Boswell applied to him for advice about his scheme of going to Italy, Mitchell tells him gravely to follow the plan which his father prescribes, whatever it may be; and he appears to have passed judgment with a somewhat stern severity upon any deviation made by "us youth" from the path marked out "by parents and guardians." I have now before me a letter of my grandfather to his sister, dated 2nd October, 1771, in which he says: —"Sir Andrew Mitchell's death I saw in the newspapers before you wrote to me. His will surprises me a good deal. However, it can't be helpt. I always thought him an ill-humoured old fellow. I imagine he has been prejudiced by some people against us." In

[4] Vol. i, p. 150.

the same letter, the writer calls himself "your wild and volatile brother." The writer of these words was dead long before I was born, but the account of the matter which I have heard from his sister, to whom the letter above quoted from is addressed, was that her brother had offended Sir Andrew Mitchell by some display of the qualities which in this letter he ascribes to himself, and that, in consequence, Sir Andrew had left the estates which had come to him by his wife, whose heir-at-law her brother was, to his old and valued friend, Sir Arthur Forbes.

On the subject of the degree to which epistolary intercourse lets us into men's characters, Dr. Johnson has some very interesting observations in his Life of Pope. "It has been," he says, "so long said, as to be commonly believed, that true characters of men may be found in their letters, and that he who writes to his friend, lays his breast open before him. But the truth is, that such were the simple friendships of the 'Golden Age,' and are now the friendships only of children. Very few can boast of hearts which they dare lay open to themselves, and of which, by whatever accident exposed, they do not shun a distinct and continued view; and certainly what we hide from ourselves we do not show to our friends. There is, indeed, no transaction which offers stronger temptations to fallacy and sophistication than epistolary intercourse. In the eagerness of conversation, the first emotions of the mind often burst out before they are considered; in the tumult of business, interest and passion have their

genuine effect; but a friendly letter is a calm and deliberate performance in the cool of leisure, in the stillness of solitude, and surely no man sits down to depreciate by design his own character."

These observations may be true of such letters as those of Pope, which more immediately suggested them, but they cannot, I think be considered true in the general sense which the form of them implies. The letters of such men as Pope and Swift, writing to each other in the "cool of leisure," may indeed be considered as very calm and deliberate performances, exhibiting not the real but the artificial—the exhibition or show Pope and Swift—even as the letters of Frederic II. and Voltaire give but a very imperfect and, indeed, false view of the characters of those two remarkable performers on the world's stage. But I think if Johnson had been more familiar with that sort of epistolary correspondence in which the "tumult of business" mingles largely—for example, such as the Earl of Strafford's letters and dispatches,—he would have modified the conclusion stated above. So in the letters in the present volumes, how characteristic, for example, are those of the Duke of Newcastle, of the Earl of Morton, of James Boswell, of Mitchell himself, of Marshal Keith, nay, even of that most crafty, least simple of men, Frederic,—at least as regards the last, where we have something of a key to them! For of such letters it may be said, that, at least, many of them are written so much in the tumult of business, that interest and passion have their genuine effect.

The two following letters to Mitchell, from the celebrated James Boswell, are very characteristic, and we suppose they may be published with the omission of a name or two without any intrusion into private life, or violation of confidence. The first is dated "Berlin, 28th August, 1764." As to the words "*Onze Gezant,*" near the beginning, I have not been able to discover the exact meaning of the allusion. Boswell's father, the Lord Auchinleck, so well known to all readers of the most entertaining literary biography upon record, seems to have been pretty much of the opinion of Lord Burleigh on the subject of foreign travel, who, in his letter of advice to his son, says, "Suffer not thy sons to pass the Alps; for they shall learn nothing there but pride, blasphemy, and atheism. And if they travel, they get a few broken languages, that shall profit them nothing more than to have one meat served in divers dishes."

Mr. Boswell to Mr. Mitchell.

You may believe, Sir, that I was a good deal surprised to hear upon my return to Berlin that *Onze Gezant* was gone. There was indeed a surmise at Brunswic that you intended to return to England this season. I was asked if it was true, and very innocently affirmed that there was nothing in it. I find, however, that when a man leaves a minister at a foreign court, but for a fortnight, he is not sure of finding him upon his return.

Your departure is a good deal unlucky for me, not only as it deprives me of conversation which gave me uncommon pleasure, and insensibly accustomed me to rational thinking and honourable sentiment, but because I now particularly stand in need of your prudent and kind counsel with respect to my travels. I have had another letter from my father, in which he continues of opinion that travelling is of very little use, and may do a great deal of harm. I shall not repeat what I have formerly said of my father's particular character. I say particular, for rarely will you find a man of so excellent a frame of body, and so noble a mind, as to have past through life with uniform propriety of conduct.

For my own part, I own that I am not such a favourite of nature.

Think not that I intend to plead machinery and escape from the censure due to the faults which I have committed. I only would have you consider that judgment is a natural gift as well as imagination, and force of mind in a great measure independent of our endeavours. Think of me as I am, and pronounce accordingly. I esteem and love my father, and I am determined to do what is in my power to make him easy and happy. But you will allow that I may endeavour to make him happy, and at the same time not be too hard upon myself. I must use you so much with the freedom of a friend, as to tell you that with the vivacity which you allowed me, I have a melancholy disposition. To escape from the gloom of dark speculation, I have made excursions into the fields of amusement,

perhaps of folly. I have found that amusement and folly are beneath me, and that without some laudable pursuit, my life must be insipid and wearisome, I therefore took the resolution of leaving London, and settled myself for the winter at Utrecht, where I recovered my inclination for study and rational thinking. I then laid my account with travelling a couple of years, but found my father's views to be entirely different. You saw the letter which I wrote to him from this, and I flatter myself that you approved of it. I cannot expect his answer for some weeks. In the mean time, he tells me that he would not oppose my passing another winter at Utrecht; so that he does not grudge the time which I ask. As for the money, I should think, for one year, a little extraordinary expence is not thrown away, when it is also to be considered that what I spend now I shall not have some years hence. My father seems much against my going to Italy, but gives me leave to go from this and pass some months in Paris. I own that the words of the Apostle Paul, "I must see Rome," are strongly *borne in* upon my mind. It would give me infinite pleasure; it would give me taste for a lifetime, and I should go home to Auchinlech with serene contentment. I am no libertine, and have a moral certainty of suffering no harm in Italy. I can also assure you that I shall be as moderate as possible in my expences. I do not intend to travel as a *Mi Lord Anglois*, but merely as a scholar and a man of elegant curiosity; and I am told that in that character I may live in Italy very reasonably. I obviate your objection of my being obliged to live like

others, by assuring you that I have none of that second-rate ambition which actuates most young men of fortune upon their travels. After passing four months on classic ground, I would come through France, and go home, as I said to my father, *uti conviva satur.*

Now, sir, tell me fairly if I am unreasonable. Upon my honour I cannot think that I am. I give you my word that my father's inclinations shall be as inviolable laws to his son. But don't you think I may first remonstrate, before I consider an act as passed. Don't you think that rather than go home contrary to what I much desire, and cannot help thinking very proper; don't you think it worth while to humour me so far as to allow me my year and a reasonable sum, after which I return clear and contented without any pretence for my gloomy disposition to murmur at? I would beg, sir, that you may write to my father your opinion as to this matter, and put it in the light which you may think it deserves. In the meantime, I can see little advantage to be had at Berlin. I shall, however, remain here a fortnight, after which I intend passing by Maanheim, and one or two more of the German Courts, to Geneva. I am there at the point from whence I may either steer to Italy or to France. I shall see Voltaire. I shall also see Switzerland and Rousseau. These two men are to me greater objects than most statues or pictures.

I take this opportunity to assure the loved and respected friend of my father, that I am sincerely happy at having obtained his acquaintance. I would hope

that I shall not be found unworthy of his regard; and I wish very honestly for an opportunity of shewing my real esteem for such a character as I could draw to anybody else but to himself.

I am,

Sir,

Your obliged humble servant,

JAMES BOSWELL.

Berlin, 28th August, 1764.

I would be much obliged to you for an answer as soon as you are at leisure to write.

The next letter, which is addressed on the back "To Andrew Mitchell, Esq., Great Britain," and is dated "Geneva, 26th December, 1764," is written to beg Mitchell's interest in favour of the father and brother of a friend of Mr. Boswell. Among Mitchell's Papers are many letters containing similar requests; but none I believe couched in such a strain of compliment as the following: "You are the only man in Britain, except my Sovereign, whom I would ask a favour of. I know you to be a man of the most perfect honour." But Mr. Boswell does not confine his compliments entirely to his correspondent; he reserves a fair portion of them for himself, the writer of the letter. "If," he says, "you can aid me, you will most truly oblige a worthy fellow, for such I am." One fancies that one can see in these letters the germ of the future most lively biographer of Johnson.

Mr. Boswell to Mr. Mitchell.

Geneva, 26th December, 1764.

Dear Sir,

I thank you for your letter from Spa, although it gave me no great encouragement in my scheme of going to Italy. You tell me gravely to follow the plan which my father prescribes, whatever it may be, as in doing so, I shall certainly act most wisely. I forgive you this: for I say just the same to young people whom I advise. To enter into a detail of the little circumstances which compose the felicity of another, is what a man of any genius can hardly submit to. We therefore give a good wholesome general counsel, and he who consults us, thinks a little, and then endeavours to take his own way as well as he can. I have however the happiness to inform you that my father has consented that I shall go to Italy. Upon my soul I am gratefull to the most worthy of men. It will be hard if we are not well together, for I love him with the strongest affection. I hope to give him entire satisfaction. If I find that I cannot succeed in my own plans in such a way as to convince my father, that I am in the right, I shall do my utmost to fullfill the plan, beyond which he cannot think to look. You may suppose what my ideas are, for they are your old acquaintances. One thing I am sure of, and by the undisguised honour of a man of probity, I swear shall chiefly influence me—a regard to the happiness of him

to whom I owe so much. Believe me, I have a soul. The intention of this letter is to beg your interest in an affair which I have much at heart.

My most intimate friend, the friend of my youth, and the comfort of my being, is a Mr. ——, of Trinity-hall, Cambridge. He is an Englishman, and I am an old Scot. But brothers were never more united than we are. His father was formerly Mayor of ——. He had an employment in the Customs, but by misfortunes became bankrupt a year or two ago. My friend had a small estate from his mother. He has generously contributed more than the half of it towards the relief of his father, and has got the creditors to be satisfied. But his father has nothing to live upon. He understands business very well. An employment of moderate income in the Customs or in one of the public offices would make him happy. His youngest son was Lieutenant in the regiment of the late General ——, who was a friend of the family, and promised to take care of the young man. The regiment has been broke some time. The Lieutenant is on half-pay, and must have a part of the little fortune which his brother still possesses. Surely it would be no very hard matter to get him put upon full-pay.

Sir: I beg and intreat of you to give me your interest. You are the only man in Britain, except my Sovereign, whom I would ask a favour of. I know you to be a man of the most perfect honour. And I know not another who has been tried in public life. I have written to Lady Northumberland; but I confess I have

little confidence in her, and believe me, I have not been mean enough to flatter her. Pray tell me how much you can do. If you can aid me, you will most truly oblige a worthy fellow, for such I am. Were I as rich as I shall probably be, the father and brother of my friend should not be as they are. Adieu, respected Sir.

BOSWELL.

I am very anxious as to this affair. Pray write to me aux soins de Messrs. Cazenove Charière et fils à Genêve.

In 1765, on Mitchell's departure for England, the King of Prussia sent him the following note, dated Berlin, 25th June, 1765 :—"Je suis bien faché monchér Monsieur que votre rapel nous separe entierement, cependant la memoire de vos bons procedéz et de votre merite ne perira pas ici.

"FEDERIC."

From the 19th of August, 1764, to the 10th of June, 1766, there is a break in Mitchell's official correspondence. It will be seen that in the letter given above to the Earl of Buckinghamshire at Petersburg, dated Berlin, 14th August, 1764, Mitchell says that the King had been pleased to permit him to go to Spa to drink the waters for the recovery of his health, and from thence to pass into England; and that during his absence Mr. Burnet, his Secretary, remained at Berlin

to carry on the correspondence. Accordingly in August, 1764, Mitchell visited Spa, and early in 1765 came over to England, where he remained upwards of a year, spending some part of the time at Tunbridge Wells, and a short time at Bath. It was in 1765 that he was made a Knight of the Bath.

Sir Andrew Mitchell, K.B., to the Duke of Grafton.

Pall Mall, 7th March, 1766.

In obedience to your Grace's commands, I take the liberty to put your Grace in mind of what passed when it pleased his Majesty to name me his Minister to the King of Prussia.

As some difficulties had arisen concerning my accepting of that commission, it was at last agreed that a pension for life of £500 at least, free of all deductions whatever, should be immediately settled upon me in consideration of my past labours, and your Grace and the Marquis of Rockingham were so good as to assure me that this was not meant as a recompense of what you were pleased to call my services, which should be more amply rewarded at my return home from this second mission.

I mentioned to your Grace at the same time, that in the month of June last, when my former commission was superseded, I had an audience of the King in which I laid my case before his Majesty, who was graciously pleased to say that "He had several times spoke to his then Ministers to put me into a proper employment in

his service, and till that was done he would continue to me my appointments."

The important business of Parliament has prevented my speaking to your Grace upon this subject till lately; and as I intend to go to Bath next week for the recovery of my health, and am soon after to set out for Berlin, I must entreat the favour of your Grace to settle these two points with the Marquis of Rockingham, and to move his Majesty accordingly.

I have the honour to be,

With the greatest respect, &c.

Mitchell returned in the spring of 1766 to Berlin, where he continued in the performance of his diplomatic duties till his death, which took place on the 28th of January, 1771, rather suddenly; at least, he does not appear to have been a month disabled from his duties, for the last official letter among his papers, which will be found a few pages on, is dated the 29th of December, 1770. A few letters selected from the mass of his dispatches and correspondence will show both the general tenor of his life for those last four or five years, and somewhat of the shape his opinions took latterly respecting the hero of the Seven Years' War, the remarkable man whom Mitchell was destined to see under many aspects, and whose extraordinary character he had had opportunities of studying so closely.

The three following letters, selected from many others, are in Prince Ferdinand's own hand, and are addressed in the same hand :—

" A Monsieur,
Monsieur le Chevalier André
Mitchel, Envoie de Sa Majesté
Brittannique auprès de sa Majesté
Prussienne.
à son Logis."

They will serve to show the cordiality of reception which Mitchell met with in the highest quarters on his return to Berlin.

Monsieur,

J'ai apris avec bien de la satisfaction votre arrivée en cette ville. Toute heure et chaque moment me sera agreable ou je pourrai vous renouveller Monsieur de vive voix que c'est avec les sentimens de l'estime la plus distinguée que j'ai l'honneur d'être.

Monsieur,

Votre tres humble and tres devoué Serviteur,

Ferdinand Duc de Brunsvic
et de Lunebourg.

A Brunsvic, ce 29me Mai, 1766.

Monsieur de Westphalen aura l'honneur de se rendre ches[5] vous. Il conviendra avec vous de l'heure ou vous voudrés[6] me rejouir par votre venue.

Ferdinand Duc de Brunsvic
et de Lunebourg.

La pièce Angloise dont je vous ai parlé hier mon cher Chevalier est intitulée *Every Man his own Broker.* Je souhaite que vous aies bien reposé et que vous vous porties bien.

Ferdinand Duc de Brunsvic
et de Lunebourg.

À Brunsvic, ce 31*me Mai,* 1766.

Mon cher Monsieur Mitchel le Roi attend son bon Monsieur Mitchel et non le Ministre. Selon ce charactere il vous recevra à Berlin.

Ferdinand Duc de Brunsvic
et de Lunebourg.

À Corbelitz, ce 3*me Juin,* 1766.

Sir Andrew Mitchell, K.B., to the Earl of Chatham.

Private and for your Lordship only.
4o. p.m. by Lambe, dispatched 22d Aug. in the packet.

Berlin, 21*st August,* 1766.

My Lord,

Upon my arrival here, I took the earliest opportunity of making your Lordship's compliments to the King of Prussia, which were extremely well received, and he desired me to take the first proper occasion of assuring you of his esteem and friendship, as well as of the sense he had of your constant attachment and

[5] Sic. [6] Sic.

regard for him; and he concluded with saying, that he hoped your Lordship would again be prevailed upon to take a share in Government. I told him freely that I thought that period near-hand. The event has justified my prediction, and I hope his Prussian Majesty will be more tractable and plyable whilst you are at the head of the Administration. The high opinion he has of your Lordship's honour and probity cannot fail to create a confidence which may be greatly usefull to the publick.

The duty of my station, as well as the affection I bear to your Lordship as a friend, oblige me to disclose to you some of the weaknesses of my hero. Great men have their failings; if they had not, they would be too much for humanity. His is that of vanity, and a desire on every occasion to have the lead, or, at least, to seem to have it. The first might be dangerous; the second, I mean the appearance of leading, may be yielded with advantage, in order to draw him into such measures as are for his interest, but without shocking his vanity.

To apply what I have said to the present case, though I most heartily approve of the nomination of my friend Mr. Stanley, I could have wished that it had been kept in *petto* till the King of Prussia had been consulted. I cannot doubt of his having approved of it, and that this mark of attention might have induced him to concur more readily to the great plan proposed. Besides, as that Prince is naturally of a suspicious temper, he may imagine (notwithstanding all the assurances which can be given to the contrary), that Great Britain and Russia have already concerted this

alliance between them without his participation, and that they mean to force him into it. If he should unhappily see it in this light, he will either not enter into it, or, if he does, he will never abide by it.

Another circumstance which may serve to indispose him I shall mention to you, and to you only, which is, that the nomination of an ambassador to Russia, who is only to call upon him *en passant*, may make him jealous of the preference given to that Court, for, though upon some occasions he laughs at all formalities, yet no man is more tenacious of them in whatever he thinks touches his rank, dignity, and consideration.

I have had, my Lord, the happiness of being so long, and, I hope, so well known to you, that I do not fear of being suspected of any mean or selfish view in what I have thrown out, and the conduct I intend to hold in acting in the most cordial manner with his Majesty's ambassador shall put that beyond any doubt, though at the same time I must own that I feel on this occasion something disagreeable to be doomed to act an under part after so long, so painfull, and so approved endeavours to serve the publick; forgive the last epithet, which, without the sanction of your Lordship's authority, I should not have dared to make use of. But, however uneasy my sensation may be, your Lordship may be assured I will do my duty to the utmost of my power, and shall be happy to have the smallest share in bringing to bear a project so nobly calculated for the well being of mankind and the honour of our nation.

I like extremely your Lordship's maxim of *salva Majestate*—though it has not constantly been practised. I am persuaded you will never swerve from it; I, therefore, most sincerely wish that your Lordship may long remain at the head of affairs to restore dignity and strength to the Crown, confidence to the people, and respect and honour from foreign nations towards your native country.

I have, &c.

Nota.—The following lines were wrote on a slip of paper, and put with their inclosure into the above letter:—

The last time I was at Potzdam, Lord Marischal gave me the inclosed letter for your Lordship, which he read to me before he sealed it, and desired it might be forwarded by the first conveyance. It is at least a mark of that nobleman's high opinion and confidence in your Lordship. A. M.

It is evident from the preceding letter that Mitchell, with all his stoicism, felt keenly, "after so long, so painful, and so approved endeavours to serve the public,"—his having in the appointment of Mr. Stanley, as ambassador to Russia, a man lifted over his head, whose pretensions, to say the least, were not to be named with his. I should not place the greatest confidence in my own conclusions on the subject, conscious that they might be at least liable to bias from personal feeling. But I have heard Mitchell characterised, by

those who were not only most impartial but most competent judges on such a point, as "the best ambassador England ever had."—It is a pity that England had not at the same time a prime minister of sufficient capacity and discernment to place the highest diplomatic talent in the highest place.

The following letters and extracts, taken in conjunction with two or three that have gone before in this chapter, show, that at least in Mitchell's judgment (and it was not one to be despised), much of Frederic's administration after the termination of the Seven Years' War was a complete failure. If Mitchell is to be believed, nobody seems to have thriven under the paternal government, notwithstanding the perfection of its wisdom, except a few Jew usurers and bankers, and the projectors and adventurers whose wild, profligate, and impracticable schemes he adopted for the augmentation of his revenue.

Sir Andrew Mitchell, K.B., to Sir George Macartney, at St. Petersbourg.

Berlin, Tuesday, 7th October, 1766.

Dear Sir,

My having been in the country has prevented my acknowledging sooner the favour of your letter, by Lauzun, the messenger, and of returning you my most hearty thanks for the communication of the papers you was pleased to transmit to me, which shall be disposed of in the manner you direct. The perusal of them

afforded me real instruction and much pleasure, and without flattery, I think you have done an essential service to your country, in bringing to a happy conclusion a negotiation of great importance, in which others have miscarried, attended with this peculiar circumstance much to your honour, and which must afford you real satisfaction ; that your success is owing to yourself, for it is the man and not the minister that has made the treaty.

I was as much surprised with the nomination of Mr. Stanley as you could be, and the more so, as I feared it would have the effect it has had of your desiring to be recalled, which I am apprehensive may hurt the King's affairs at your Court. If I can learn anything concerning the motives that have induced to this extraordinary step, I shall not fail to acquaint you. Mr. Stanley, I understand, is to pass this way, but I have as yet no notice of the time of his setting out.

As to what Mr. Pannin told you concerning the state of the King of Prussia's health, I believe it ill-founded. I have seen that monarch several times, and think him in every respect in better health than he was two years ago, though at the same time I believe him very uneasy and unhappy in his own mind, from the many disappointments he has met with, arising chiefly from the adoption of the wild schemes of projectors and adventurers, for the augmentation of his revenues, most of which, upon trial, have been found to be either pernicious or impracticable ; and besides the attempts to carry them into execution have already had the fatal

effects of souring his temper, of alienating from him the affections of his subjects, and of hurting the credit and commerce of his countries.

As I have heard very contradictory accounts of the dispositions of your Court towards the King of Prussia, I should be glad to be informed by you of their real sentiments with regard to that monarch, whose conduct to his best friends appears often to me very unaccountable. I have never seen the treaty of alliance between this Court and that of Russia, concluded whilst I was in England: I wish therefore you could send me a copy or an abstract of it by the first messenger.

The King of Prussia returned last Saturday to Potzdam, having been for some days at Charlottenbourg, chiefly to entertain the Margrave of Anspach, who was here on a visit to this Court, and who set out from hence on the 4th instant, for his own dominions. My last latters from London are of the 26th September, but they contain nothing worth mentioning.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Extract from a dispatch of 15th November, 1766.

"Great confusion in the domestic affairs has arisen, from many alterations the King has made for some time in the manner of raising his taxes and of augmenting his revenue, by adopting several schemes offered by projectors and adventurers, most of which are found to be pernicious and impracticable. This disappointment sits

heavily on his mind, and has affected his temper. The representations of his subjects, however well-founded, and conveyed to him in the most respectful terms, and in the humblest manner, have hitherto not had any effect, and, so far from softening him, rather do confirm him in his resolution of pursuing measures which, in the opinion of those who best understand the state of this country, cannot fail of being fatal to the commerce, industry, and credit of his dominions."

Extracts from dispatches of 27th December, 1766, and of 4th June, 1768.

"The directors of the new excise, mostly recommended, as is said, by Helvetius, are all Frenchmen of low condition, and totally ignorant of the language, manners, and customs of this country. Three of them, as I have been informed, were bankrupts, of whom M. de Candi was one. He, however, had a dispute with Launay, and was shot by him. The new projects of the excise give the utmost dissatisfaction to the subjects, and have really alienated the affections of the people from their sovereign to a degree hardly to be described."

The following extracts from Mitchell's dispatches, which have been already published by M. Von Raumer, further illustrate Frederic's own character, and that of his administration after the Seven Years' War.

"The ministers have not the courage to report to their master what is told them, and much less dare they

insinuate what may be the consequences of a rash or false step. He is impatient of contradiction, and receives too easily impressions that flatter or coincide with his present passion; and experience has shown to me how difficult it is for that monarch to vanquish even his ill-grounded prejudices." [7]

"Count Borcke, governor of the Prince of Prussia, had spoken in a company upon the nature and the effects of war, and the calamities occasioned to mankind in general.[8] This was reported to the King, with some exaggerations, on which account he turned the conversation at table to the subject. Though Borcke here expressed himself in more moderate terms, the King fell into a violent passion, and told him that, with such sentiments, he was unworthy to wear the uniform of a major-general, and much more to be about his nephew; so he was dismissed."

"The King's economy has increased of late to such a degree as to deserve another name; [9] it extends to the meanest trifles.[1] He is often rough, and out of humour, but, indeed, his dominions are exhausted to such a degree, that the bare description would move the hardest heart."

"The King has caused investigations to be made into the embezzlement of public money. As the people against whom this inquiry is making are chiefly strangers, adventurers, and projectors of new taxes,

[7] Dispatches of 27th March, 8th May, and 26th June, 1764.
[8] Dispatch of 24th March, 1764.
[9] Dispatches of 21st April, and 23rd June, 1764.
[1] Dispatches of 3rd and 9th May, 1763.

they have incurred the greatest odium, and the people call loudly for vengeance."[2]

The next letter is of a very different character, being an introduction to Sir Andrew Mitchell from Mrs. Montague, of young Mr. Harris, afterwards the first Earl of Malmesbury, the ambassador, and who was destined by the fates to be Mitchell's successor at Berlin. The letter also contains a good deal of what was then literary news, and what will now be no longer news, but only literary gossip.

Mrs. Montagu to Sir Andrew Mitchell, K.B.

Hill Street, March the 6th, 1767.

If it be true that change of climate works no change in the disposition, I am sure the Sir Andrew Mitchell I knew in London will not be angry with me for desiring him to give his protection to a young gentleman, of great merit, during his stay at Berlin. Mr. Harris's father's character in the literary world as a man of learning, and in the busy world as a man of great integrity and abilities, is a security to you that I have not sent you an ordinary English traveller, full of presumption, ignorance, and impertinence. Mr. Harris was a distinguished scholar at the University, and he has since passed several months at the Hague, with Sir Joseph Yorke. As his view in travelling is improve-

[2] Dispatches of 6th and 17th September, and 1st November, 1766.

ment, he is always desirous of being in the society where it is to be found in the best manner, and is, therefore, ambitious of the acquaintance of such men as Sir Andrew Mitchell and Sir Joseph Yorke.

Our friend Mr. Hume was with me last night; he looks perfectly well; whether he has been cured of the consequences of the bite of a mad philosopher by dipping in salt water, or that the natural sweetness of his disposition did not afford any matter for the venom to work upon, I do not know, but it is certain that he is in perfect health and good spirits. As Rousseau could not take delight in any of the animal creation, of which there is not one who, like him, hates his own species, he has happily found a resource in the study of botany, and in simpling on the hills of Derbyshire. If I did not take it for granted, that your bookseller has an order to send you everything that comes out worth your attention, I should have taken the liberty to have sent you, by Mr. Harris, a very ingenious work of Mr. Adam Ferguson's, an history of the progress of society. I had great desire to see the country which furnishes us with so many men whom we esteem, and so many works which we admire, and therefore from Northumberland I made an excursion into Scotland, where I passed a month very agreeably, astonished at the sublime character of country, your lakes, rivers, and mountains, and delighted with the society I found at Edinburgh. I propose another visit thither this summer. I was at Glasgow, which delighted me more than any commercial town I ever saw; wealth does not

seem to lye there in heaps, nor again to usurp the whole attention as at Amsterdam; the sciences, the arts, and the love of agriculture, have their share. I went to Inverary, and passed over a great deal of classick ground; I dined in the vale of Glencow; I wished to have seen Ossian riding on his cloud, or to have caught some of the notes of Malvina's harp; but every object there is poetical.

The Duke of Buccleuch is going to be married to Lady Betty Montagu, daughter to the Duke of Montagu. If Ossian was alive, he would write their epithalamium; the subject would deserve such a bard. Your friends, Mrs. Ellis and Mrs. D'Oyley, are in good health. Lord Lyttelton as well as usual; part of his history will be published about Easter, or in June at farthest. I should not have troubled you with so long a letter, if you had been in any part of Great Britain, but I know when people are abroad, every thing that comes from their native land has an indulgent reception. I began to write my letter to recommend Mr. Harris, but before you have known him a week, you will think I ought rather to have desired him to procure a reception for my letter. Long as it is, I cannot conclude without saying I hope Princess Amelia of Prussia is well; whoever has had the honour of approaching her Royal Highness must always anxiously desire her welfare. If Madame de Maupertuis, Madame Keith, and the Countess of Wartensleben, have not totally forgotten a Spa acquaintance, I should be glad to have the honour of presenting my compliments. Mr. Montagu charged

me to offer you his best respects. He is gone to the House of Commons, where is to be debate in the affairs of the East India Company. Lord Chatham is come to town very lame with the gout. How firm his footing may be as a Minister, you will not expect to be informed by one so ignorant of the affairs and mysteries of politicks and politicians.

I am, Sir, with great esteem and respect,
Your most obliged, most obedient, and
very humble servant,
ELIZ. MONTAGU.

To SIR ANDREW MITCHELL,
En. Extra. & M. Plen. &c. &c. &c.,
at Berlin.

The following is the last letter that we find from the Duke of Newcastle. Notwithstanding our hearty dislike of his insincerity and his folly, one cannot help feeling some compassion for the poor old man, now comparatively desolate in his seclusion from that office which he prized so highly, and to which he had clung so long.

The Duke of Newcastle to Sir Andrew Mitchell.

Newcastle House, May 19th, 1767.

MY DEAR OLD FRIEND,

The long acquaintance and friendship that there has been between us, encourages me to give you this trouble, to desire your countenance and protection to a young gentleman who is going to Berlin on his travels

through Germany. It is Mr. Dashwood, who is son to Sir James Dashwood, Member for the County of Oxford, and brother-in-law to my good friend the Duke of Manchester, who has desired me most earnestly to recommend James to you. I ventured to assure the Duke of Manchester that you would be very ready to shew him all the regard in your power, so must beg you would be so good as to introduce him to the King of Prussia, and to make his stay at Berlin as agreeable to him as possible. He goes to Hanover, and I shall write to my old friend the President Munchausen, as I do to you. As, in these days, one scarce knows where one is well and where not, I leave it to you to mention to the King of Prussia my name, as you think it may be of service or not to my friend. It is not sufficient to know, as I do, how sincerely I wished a thorough union with the King of Prussia, from the time our negotiation with Russia began, and I am still of opinion that a more proper opportunity of forming a firm union between the powers * *[3] in the north, for maintaining and preserving the peace has been lost, I don't say by whose faults,—but I am running into politicks, with which I have no other concern but to express my good wishes that those measures may be taken, both at home and abroad, which are most for the honor and interest of the King and this nation, and for the support of the common cause. Dear Mitchel, my principles are the same they ever were, both as to things, and, in general, as to persons; with some few exceptions as to

[3] Blank in the original.

the latter, but none with regard to yourself, to whom I shall ever be a most sincere and affectionate friend and

Obedient humble servant,

HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

P.S.—The Dutchess of Newcastle desires her kindest compliments and good wishes to you.

James Harris, Esq. (the father of the first Earl of Malmesbury), to Sir Andrew Mitchell, K.B.

SIR,

I cannot sufficiently express my gratitude for your goodness to my son. Next to his being an honest man, 'tis the utmost of my wishes, with respect to his education, that he should be able, by his manners and abilities, to render himself acceptable to persons of rank and distinction, like yourself. If these ends are once attained, what follows must be left to himself, and to his own industry and attention.

I must, in a particular manner, return my thanks for the inquirys you were so good to make for him, relative to the safety of his journey; and for that further security you were so good to add to it, by his Prussian Majesty's passport.

I shall transmit to Lord Lyttelton, when I have next the honour of writing to him, your sentiments concerning him, so favourable and yet so just. He is certainly one of our finest geniuses, and I have the pleasure to inform you that the work, which, as far as yet published, has gained him so much reputation, is now going on, and, if he lives, will certainly be finished.

The Pieces you mention of the late Lord Shaftesbury, are certainly valuable, as well for the sake of their author as of Horace. None, that have commented this elegant poet, have been philosophers; and they have rather, therefore, dwelt upon the shell, than penetrated into the interior substance. Philosophy, in those days, was like religion now: every man of every rank profest some sect or other, though there was no great mutual bitterness among the dissidents. The sublime genius loved Plato; the more acute followed Aristotle; the Augustan courtiers adopted Epicurus; and the old republicans preferred Zeno. Hence the necessity of a thorough knowledge of philosophy (such as Lord Shaftesbury possest) to comprehend and explain Horace according to the different periods of his life, his fortunes, and his respective patrons.

But I will trouble you no more now. If ever I have the honour of seeing you, I shall, with great pleasure, communicate the papers my son has mentioned; as, indeed, I shall, with the highest satisfaction, embrace every opportunity of assuring you with how much sincerity and respect I have the honour to subscribe myself,

Sir,

Your much obliged,

And most faithful, humble servant,

JAMES HARRIS.

Salisbury, Nov. 8, 1767.

My wife is too much interested in the welfare of her son, not, in a particular manner, to beg your acceptance of her compliments.

Sir Andrew Mitchell to Lord Weymouth.[4]

Berlin, Saturday, 17th Sept., 1768.

My Lord,

I have now the satisfaction to acquaint your Lordship that his Prussian Majesty returned to Potzdam on Wednesday, the 14th instant, as I am informed, in perfect health.

Some time before the King of Prussia went into Silesia, he generously ordered the sum of three hundred thousand German crowns to be distributed among such of his subjects in that province as had suffered during the last war ; which, I hear, has been executed, to the great satisfaction of those concerned.

This sum, however considerable, is far inferior to the damages sustained, and I am told that Silesia is still in a very deplorable condition, and likely to continue so ; not only the agriculture but likewise the trade and manufactures of that province being greatly decreased, to which the late changes and the new system the King of Prussia has adopted in the manner of collecting his revenue have greatly contributed.

I have, &c.,

Andr. Mitchell.

In explanation of the last paragraph of the preceding letter, it is proper to refer to letters already given or quoted, and to remind the reader that Frederic had

[4] Thomas Thynne, 3rd Viscount Weymouth, created Marquess of Bath, 1789.

introduced in all their rigour the forms and substance of the French excise laws, with a vast number of French officials and tax-gatherers or farmers of taxes, who, being backed by his iron and irresistible despotism, oppressed and ground down the poor Prussians, if possible, to a still greater extent than the French suffered from the robbery and oppression of their more feeble and less energetic though equally profligate and ruthless tyrants. An idea may be formed of the extent to which one family, in pursuing their own aggrandisement, had crushed and brutalised a whole nation, from the following passage in a letter of the Earl of Malmesbury, dated Berlin, 1773 :—"No place can be worse for the comforts of social life than Berlin. A total corruption of morals reigns throughout both sexes in every class of life, joined to penuriousness, necessarily caused partly by the oppression of his present Majesty, and partly by the expensive ideas they received from his grandfather, constituting the worst of human characters." [5] This, indeed, is only what the general laws of human nature would lead us to expect as the invariable consequences of despotism and slavery. A slave cannot have self-respect and its attendant virtues. Indeed, corruption of manners, as many examples, some of them recent enough, prove, is one of the most effectual means which profligate tyranny relies on for the attainment of its ends. The German writers pass very tenderly and delicately over all these things ; and some of them even seem disposed to follow the example of the rudest and

[5] The Earl of Malmesbury's Diaries and Correspondence, vol. i. p. 97.

most ignorant savages, and, instead of using the understanding of civilised men in judging of their rulers, doing justice at once to the genius and the vices of such a man as Frederic the Second, elevate the robber-tyrant into a god, and set up the hideous image as an idol for the worship of mankind.

Sir Andrew Mitchell to the Earl of Harcourt,[6] *at Paris.*

Berlin, Tuesday, 14th March, 1769.

My Lord,

I think it may be for his Majesty's service that your Excellency should be confidentially acquainted with the actual situation in which I am at this Court. The intention of the King and his Ministers upon my return hither in the year 1766, was, to form a triple alliance between Great Britain, Russia, and Prussia, to counter-balance the family compact of the House of Bourbon. When I made that proposal on the part of his Majesty to the King of Prussia, he received it coldly, and declined, for reasons best known to himself, entering into any connections with our Court. Since which period I have been in no degree of confidence either with his Prussian Majesty or his Ministers, nor have I had any communication from them of their negotiation in Russia, Poland, or elsewhere. Upon hearing of the interchange of Ministers between the Courts of Versailles and Berlin, I confess I was greatly surprised, and the more so, as the King of Prussia had always affected to talk, in publick, contemptuously of

[6] Simon Harcourt, 2nd Viscount and 1st Earl of Harcourt.

the French, and as it happened about the time that war was declared between the Turks and Russians. It had indeed been industriously propagated that this interchange of Ministers took its rise at the Court of Versailles, the truth of which fact I cannot believe without a confirmation from your Excellency.

Since Count Guines' arrival I have not been able to learn that he is charged with any particular business here, but I should be glad your Excellency would inform me as to his character, circumstances, and connections in France.

What Colonel Goltz is charged with at your Court, I have no opportunity of knowing. It was indeed given out that he was to endeavour to renew the treaty of commerce that formerly subsisted between Prussia and France, the two chief articles of which were certain regulations on the tonnage of ships employed in the exportation of wood for ship-building from the Prussian dominions, and the abolition of the *Droit d'Aubaine.* Besides these two points, in themselves unexceptionable, I am informed that Monsieur de Goltz is charged with an instruction to make an article in the commercial treaty with France, in favour of the French India Company, [or an agreement with the said Company,] by which they will be entitled to make use of the Prussian flag, and to load and unload their ships in the Porte of Embden, paying certain duties to his Prussian Majesty for the same.

This last article, of which I have but just received notice, seems calculated to cover the trade of France in

case of a rupture with Great Britain, and appears to me of such importance that though I am not absolutely certain of the truth of it, yet I have by this post acquainted the Earl of Rochford therewith, telling him at the same time that I had communicated it to your Excellency, who can best discover whether it be well founded.

His Prussian Majesty's army is very compleat and in excellent order, but it does not appear that that monarch intends to take any active part in the war between the Turks and Russians, and by this conduct he will avoid giving jealousy to the House of Austria.

I doubt not your Excellency will have heard of the present domestick distresses of the King of Prussia, occasioned by the misconduct of the Princess Royal, who, it is believed, will certainly be divorced from her husband.

I have, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

The following extract from a dispatch of Mitchell's of 17th September, 1766, relates to the subject of the triple alliance mentioned in the above letter :—

Frederic remarked upon this subject :—"Alliances made with a view to distant events are, for the most part, merely matters of ostentation, and rarely produce any other effect than that of imposing, for a short time, on the adverse party." He then repeated an Italian

proverb: "Chi sta bene non si muove." Mitchell answered: "Chi sta solo non sta bene." "The King then hinted at the treatment he had met with from us when the last peace was made, and talked of the instability of our measures and sudden changes in our administration, which made it almost impossible to transact business with us with any sort of security. I answered as well as I could."

And again, in a dispatch of 4th December, 1766, Mitchell writes that, having renewed the proposal for the triple alliance, the King answered:—"The alliance proposed, so far from contributing to public tranquillity, may be the means of interrupting it, and that suddenly, as it cannot fail to excite jealousy in the other powers of Europe, and lead them to unite themselves, perhaps, more strictly together than they are at present. Things are now quiet: I wish they may long continue so. Associations of different powers, upon a general plan, are seldom of long duration, and seldom produce a good effect. Circumstances vary so fast, that there is hardly any possibility of making provision in a general treaty for events that may happen. When the storm seems to be rising, and clouds begin to appear, then, and not till then, is the time for uniting together and concerting measures to ward off the impending danger. I am, therefore, unwilling to enter into schemes that may occasion new wars."

Sir Andrew Mitchell to the Earl of Rochford.[7]

Private.

Berlin, Saturday, 29th April, 1769.

My Lord,

Count Kamacke, a gentleman of considerable rank and fortune in this country, will deliver to your Lordship a letter of mine of the seventh instant, wherein I took the liberty of introducing him to your Lordship. He is particularly curious in agriculture, and his chief business in England he told me is to learn from the farmers their arts of cultivation, &c., and for that purpose he proposes to retire into Yorkshire for some time, and will lodge in the house of Christopher Brown, at *Nottingly*, near *Ferrybridge*, in that county.

This gentleman is a great projector, though himself no conjurer ; but as I have reason to suspect that part of his errand to Britain may be to engage usefull and industrious husbandmen, and perhaps manufacturers and artificers, to transport themselves into this country, I think it my duty to give your Lordship this particular notice, as well for the sake of the publick, as for these unfortunate people, who may be deluded by fair promises to come abroad, which are seldom or never fulfilled in this country.

I have, &c.,

Andr. Mitchell.

[7] William Henry Nassau, 4th Earl of Rochford.

Sir Andrew Mitchell to the Earl of Rochford.

Secret.

Berlin, Saturday, 15th July, 1769.

My Lord,

The fit of the gout, with which the King of Prussia has been affected, appears not to have been so slight as was reported. He has the gout still in one of his hands, and his looks are visibly altered by it, but in other respects he seems to be very well.

I must now mention to your Lordship an incident which happened on the 13th instant at Charlottenbourg. In the circle at the Queen's assembly, his Prussian Majesty was pleased to distinguish me very particularly. He first led me into a window, and after talking some time there, he carried me into another room, where he made me sit down by him, and I believe our conversation lasted above a quarter of an hour. Towards the end of it the King of Prussia's two brothers, Prince Henry and Ferdinand, entered the room, when his Prussian Majesty made them sit down by us. This must have been observed by all present, as the door of the room into which we had retired was left open, and some people remarked that his Prussian Majesty had taken little or no notice of the French Minister, whose behaviour has hitherto, as far as I know, been very prudent and circumspect.

However little material the conversation I had with the King of Prussia was, I shall acquaint your Lordship with the heads of it. That monarch asked me about

Wilkes: I answered, his credit was greatly decayed, and he sunk in reputation; that the people of England were returning to their right senses, though there were not wanting some seditious men who endeavoured to alarm them upon points equally frivolous as those of Wilkes, but I believe they could not succeed, as the grievances they complained of were imaginary, not real, and that in all popular governments it had ever been the conduct of seditious men to captivate and deceive the people with specious pretences, &c. His Prussian Majesty then talked of Corsica, and of the fate of Paoli with some tenderness, and of the advantages that might accrue to the French from the acquisition of that island. To this I replyed, that Paoli had many well-wishers in England, and his fate was greatly to be lamented, but that I could not see the advantages the French would reap from that conquest, whilst England remained superior at sea; that I had heard there were few or no sea-ports in Corsica, the possession of which could not be maintained without great expence; that so soon as the French became superior at sea, the ports of *Marseilles*, *Toulon*, and *Antibes* were sufficient for their purposes of intercepting the Levant trade, &c.

The next head the King of Prussia mentioned to me was concerning the English East India Company, the fall of their stock, and the danger they were supposed to be in from the attacks of the Indian Princes. To this I said, that really I had no information but from the newspapers, but that it appeared to me the Directors

had acted with good faith and prudence in producing publickly the dispatches they had received from the Indies, and thereby preventing the farther fall of the stock; that the interest of many who wanted to purchase in at low price, had occasioned the sudden fall, upon the arrival of the first news from India; that I gave very little credit to the reports printed in the newspapers concerning Indian affairs, as there was much to be got by sinking the price of stock; and that besides, the French, Dutch, and other nations, jealous of the advantages the English had in the East Indies, greedily embraced and propagated every report that could hurt the English Company, &c.; that I had no doubt the French were endeavouring to do us all the mischief they could in the Indies, but as this was naturally to be expected, I hoped and believed his Majesty's Ministers would give the greatest attention to every transaction that could in any wise affect so important a branch of commerce.

The last question the King of Prussia asked me was, whether we had any hopes of settling our American affairs. I answered, we had good hopes; that I had heard a plan was actually preparing for that purpose, though no part of it had yet been communicated to me.

Thus I have minutely stated to your Lordship every thing worth mentioning that passed between his Prussian Majesty and me, but can draw no conclusion from it with regard to a change of sentiments. Perhaps the whole that has happened may have been

a scene calculated to mortify the French Minister at this Court.

I have, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Sir Andrew Mitchell to the Earl of Rochford.

Berlin, Saturday, 23rd December, 1769.

MY LORD,

Since my last, of the 16th, I have had no letter from your Lordship.

Last Thursday, the King of Prussia and the Prince and Princess Royal of Prussia arrived here from Potzdam. The next day the carnival was opened by the representation of the opera of *Didone Abbandonata*, at which his Prussian Majesty, the Queen, and all the royal family were present.

This morning, Count Guines, minister plenipotentiary at this Court from that of France, set out from hence for Paris, in order to settle his private affairs, and has left Monsieur de Saudray, his secretary, to carry on the correspondence during his absence.

From Poland they write nothing of importance.

I cannot well account why Monsieur de Guines, after having, on the 13th of November last, acquainted Count Finckenstein that affairs of a private nature required his immediate return to Paris, and after presenting to that gentleman his secretary, to do the business in his absence, (of which Count Finckenstein immediately informed the King, his master,) has

loitered here since that time under divers pretences, such as expecting letters from his Court, &c. But what is most surprising is, that on Thursday last Count Guines chose to pay his court to the King of Prussia at the publick levee, when his Prussian Majesty took no notice of him, which I believe shocked him very much.

Happening, last Thursday morning, at the publick levee, to stand near the French Minister, the King of Prussia passed by me without speaking to me, which I the more particularly take notice of, as it is the first and indeed the only time that this Monarch, during my very long mission at this Court, has behaved to me in this manner. Whatever may be the occasion of it, or from whatever cause it proceeds, it gives me no sort of concern, as I am conscious to myself of having punctually obeyed all the King my master's instructions, and behaved with all the circumspection and decency so necessary at this Court.

I have, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Sir Andrew Mitchell to the Earl of Rochford.

Secret.

Berlin, Saturday, 27th January, 1770.

MY LORD,

Notwithstanding the outward marks of cordiality and friendship subsisting between the Courts of Petersbourg and Berlin, I cannot help suspecting that the

King of Prussia sees with a jealous eye any extension of the Russian power and dominion, and to this, perhaps, may be ascribed the advances his Prussian Majesty made last year to the Emperor, who, on his part, I believe, would rather chuse to have the Turks than the Russians for neighbours. I have no doubt the march of the seven bataillons into Hungary is a measure that has been approved of by the King of Prussia; but if it will meet with the approbation of the Czarina, I cannot take upon me to say, having had no letters from Petersbourg for a long time past. Whether the King of Prussia (as has once and again been reported) intends to act in the ensuing campaign on the side of Polish Prussia, under pretence of clearing that country from the ravages and oppression of the confederates, does not yet appear from any steps taken here; nor can I imagine that the Court of Russia would give way to such a project, without whose consent no such measure can be attempted.

I cannot help taking notice to your Lordship of the great degree of affectation with which the King of Prussia distinguishes the Austrian Minister in publick; and I am informed that the same game is played at Vienna with the regard to the Prussian Minister there, which convinces me that the insincerity on both sides is equal, though they may, perhaps, unite from temporary motives.

I have missed of no opportunity of paying my respects to the King of Prussia during his stay here, who was pleased to take notice of me as usual, but he

avoided talking to me of business either by himself or his servants.

I have, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Sir Andrew Mitchell to the Earl of Rochford.

Secret.

Berlin, Saturday, 29th December, 1770.

MY LORD,

Last Wednesday, the King of Prussia, at his publick levee, after kindly enquiring concerning the state of my health, asked me abruptly, Shall we have peace, or war? I answered that I was absolutely uninformed, his Majesty's Ministers having yet communicated nothing to me upon that subject. His Prussian Majesty then replyed, He would bett ten to one we should have peace, and concluded with praising ironically, as I thought, the wise conduct of the administration for their aversion to war, which they considered as the greatest misfortune that could happen to mankind. To this I made no answer, nor could I, consistently with what I had said.

As this happened in so publick a manner, I think proper to mention the particulars to your Lordship, as you can best judge what may be concluded from this short dialogue with the King of Prussia, which, no doubt, will be differently represented by those who were present.

Besides the fact above mentioned, I have heard reports of certain conversations of his Prussian Majesty

relating to the present state of our affairs, of the truth of which, so soon as I am more fully informed, I shall not fail to acquaint your Lordship.

I have, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

With this last letter Mitchell's official letter-books end. Of treaties, of alliances, of wars and rumours of wars, no more will be written by him. His toils have ceased. His work is done. His task is ended—

> ——"Yea, he hath finish'd;
> ——————No ominous hour
> Knocks at his door with tidings of mishap.
> Far off is he, above desire and fear;
> No more submitted to the change and chance
> Of the unsteady planets. O, 'tis well
> With him."

Like his friend and countryman too, Marshal Keith, he sleeps his last long, easy sleep, as Strafford called it just before his execution, far from the land of his fathers and the home of his youth.

These last expressions may perhaps appear at variance with the notion implied in the taunts of their southern neighbours against the propensity of the Scotch to leave their country. And certainly Scotchmen are found at places and in situations that evince an extraordinary propensity to wander, of which a remarkable instance will be found in the next chapter, where two Scotchmen met in Tartary, the one commanding a

Russian army as the Czarina's General, the other a Turkish army as Grand Vizir. But as, to borrow the words of Sir Walter Scott, "every Scottishman has a pedigree; it is a national prerogative as unalienable as his pride and his poverty," so most Scotchmen have some *Drumthwacket* associated with their boyish days, where they have wandered among heath, broom, and whins; and fished for trout, perhaps grilse and salmon, in rapid streams rushing over beds of rock or pebbles; some spot which, bleak and barren though it be, is dear to their memory, which they hope to revisit some time, and perhaps enjoy yet once more before they die the happiness they knew in boyhood amid its keen and fresh air, its clear and rapid waters, its grey or red rocks and brown mountains.

Thainston, which, if not the haunt of Mitchell's boyhood, was associated with all that was brightest and darkest in his early days, with his wife's society and with her loss, has its full share of these things. It is situated about two miles on the Aberdeen side of Inverury, on the slope of a hill overlooking the windings of the river Don, with a wooded hill rising immediately behind it. I believe it was originally (as the name Thane's town implies) a hunting-seat of the Earls of Mar, the great thanes or feudatories of the northern parts of Scotland. It is about ten miles distant from the field where was fought the sanguinary battle of the "Red Harlaw," between the Highlanders and Islesmen, and the lowland chivalry. One can fancy the lines of Sir Walter Scott's most beautiful ballad in the

"Antiquary" applicable to this locality. One can fancy the "Great Earl" mustering his men-at-arms from Thainston for that skirmish which Sir Walter represents as taking place before the main battle, and which he has celebrated in strains which even more than the old ballad of Chevy Chase have an effect like the sound of a trumpet.[8]

[8] "They saddled a hundred milk-white steeds,
They hae bridled a hundred black,
With a chafron of steel on each horse's head,
And a goud knight upon his back.

"They hadna ridden a mile, a mile,
A mile but barely ten—
When Donald came branking down the brae
Wi' twenty thousand men.

"Their tartans they were waving wide,
Their glaives were glancing clear;
The pibrocks rang from side to side
Would deafen ye to hear.

"The great Earl in his stirrups stood
That Highland host to see—
'Now here a knight that's stout and good,
May prove a jeopardie.

"'What wouldst thou do, my squire so gay,
That rides beside my rein—
Were ye Glenallan's Earl this day,
And I were Roland Cheyne?

"'To turn the rein were sin and shame,
To fight were wondrous peril;
What would ye do now, Roland Cheyne,
Were ye Glenallan's Earl?'

"'Were I Glenallan's Earl this tide,
And ye were Roland Cheyne,—
The spur should be in my horse's side,
And the bridle upon his mane.

The place has also actual historical associations. For, on the hill behind the house are the remains of an old camp where Robert Bruce lay before the battle in which he defeated Comyn, Earl of Buchan, King Edward the First's General. Here tradition also places the

"'Though they hae twenty thousand blades,
And we twice ten times ten;
Yet they hae but their tartan plaids,
And we are mail-clad men.

"'My horse shall ride through ranks sae rude,
As through the moorland fern,—
Then ne'er let the gentle Norman blude
Grow cauld for Highland kerne.'"

The concluding words, which are here put into the mouth of Roland Cheyne, are, no doubt, intended to show the relation which anciently subsisted between the warlike Lowlanders of Norman and Saxon descent, and the equally warlike, but less completely armed and disciplined, Celtic Highlanders, very different from that which prevailed in the 18th and even the 17th centuries, when the Lowlanders had nearly quite laid aside their warlike habits. I am tempted to quote here one more passage from the Culloden Papers, as bearing on a subject which I think not unimportant. Of the eight Highland regiments, I believe five still wear the kilt, the others having adopted the trews. I am informed by officers who have worn the kilt on foreign service, that the disadvantages, both in very cold and very hot climates, are very great, without any corresponding advantages. The expenses are also greater than of trews or trowsers. The expense and inconvenience of the huge, hearse-like plumes for the caps are also great. But the kilt is what I chiefly wish to call attention to, as a grievance and an absurdity which has not even a shadow of the pretext of "venerable antiquity" for its support. The passage in the Culloden Papers, to which I refer, is the following note at p. 289 of that work:—"The English readers, and most of the Scotch, will be surprised to understand that the kilt, or pheliebeg, was not the antient Highland garb, but was introduced into the Highlands about 1720, by one Thomas Rawlinson, an Englishman, who was overseer to a company carrying on iron-works in Glengarry's Country. The convenience of the dress soon caused it to be universally adopted in the Highlands. This circumstance is fully explained in a letter from Evan Baillie, Esq., of Aberiachan, a gentleman of undoubted veracity, dated 1769, and inserted in the Edinburgh Magazine for 1785." See also, in the Culloden Papers, p. 103, a letter to Duncan Forbes, of Culloden, then Lord Advocate, from this Mr. T. Rawlinson, dated Invergary, May 24, 1728.

well-known anecdote of the spider, and points out a cave overhanging the river Don, where Bruce is said to have been lying concealed when the incident occurred. Another account is, that as he lay sick in his tent, which was placed against a rock, he saw a spider make many unsuccessful attempts to climb the rock, and at last succeed.

Mitchell died at Berlin on the 28th of January, 1771. In a letter dated Berlin, 29th January, 1771, to Sir Arthur Forbes, Mr. Alexander Burnet, Sir Andrew's secretary, says: "Sir Andrew Mitchell died here yesterday morning very unexpectedly, notwithstanding he had complained of a bad state of health for these several months past." The Court of Prussia honoured his funeral with their presence, and the great King himself is said to have beheld from the balcony the procession with tears.

Mitchell has been described by those who remember him as in person a man strongly built, and rather above the middle height, and as "taking in his manners, though bluntish." His countenance, as depicted in a very good portrait[9] of him at Thainston, in his robes of a Knight of the Bath, is that of a bold, open, straightforward, and withal most sagacious man. It is somewhat broad and bluff, with thought and

[9] This portrait, of which an engraving accompanies these pages, must have been painted in 1765-6, yet it represents a countenance of remarkably hale, and even youthful, appearance, for a man within a couple of years of sixty, who had gone through, too, the campaigns of the Seven Years' War,—a countenance which seems to promise much longer life than sixty-three years.

resolution visibly written in every line of the broad forehead, the strongly-marked nose, the massive chin, and firm full lips, as well as the well-opened clear blue eyes. The features altogether are expressive of the honesty, sagacity, and goodness, and the quiet resolution, the silent unobtrusive courage which formed the character of the man.

What has been said by a great living writer of an illustrious countryman of Mitchell, I think I may venture to apply to Mitchell, that "when he departed he took a man's life along with him."

M. Thiebault gives the following account of the death of Sir Andrew Mitchell, and of the honours paid to his memory by his friends at Berlin.

"M. le Chevalier Mitchel est mort à Berlin d'une hydropisie de poitrine, qui s'est formée très-rapidement à la suite d'un rhume peu inquiétant en apparence. Lorsque son médecin, le célèbre anatomiste M. Mekel, s'aperçut de cette hydropisie qu'il n'avoit pas prévue, il abandonna son malade, lequel, durant les deux ou trois jours qu'il vécut encore, attendit et demanda inutilement des secours. Cet abandon fut un scandale pour le public, et surtout pour les amis du Chevalier.[1]

"Un an environ après sa mort, M. César, d'après

[1] This story can hardly be true; as, after Sir Andrew Mitchell's death, his devisee and executor, Sir Arthur Forbes, paid the fees of three eminent physicians, who had attended Sir Andrew in his last illness, as appears from documents at Fintray House.

les ordres du Prince Henri, m'envoya un billet où l'on m'invitoit à me trouver tel jour à midi, en froc à l'angloise, cheveux en queue ou avec une perruque ronde, sans épée et sans aucune sorte de costume particulier ou décoration, mais en bottes et avec chapeau rond et baguette à la main, en telle église où le Chevalier avoit été inhumé, pour y assister à l'installation du buste de ce digne et respectable ami des hommes et de la vertu. Nous nous trouvâmes environ trente hommes à cette cérémonie, ayant à notre tête le Prince qui avoit fait faire le buste, et qui le faisoit placer en présence de tous ceux qui avoient eu le plus de part à l'estime et à l'amitié du défunt. Le Prince n'avoit lui-même que le costume qu'il nous avoit prescrit, sans cordon ni ordres. Après la cérémonie, nous nous rendîmes tous chez M. César. Comme le temps étoit fort beau, nous fîmes ce trajet à pied : lorsqu'on vint nous annoncer que le dîner étoit servi, nous passâmes dans la salle à manger, sans aucune sorte d'attention pour les rangs. Le Prince lui-même, ainsi que tous les autres convives, marcha dans la foule et avec ceux près de qui il se trouvoit. On en usa de même pour les places, en se mettant à table. Le hasard seul décida des voisins de chacun de nous : le dîner fut d'ailleurs fort gai, et chacun se retira ensuite comme et quand il le voulut. Cette manière d'honorer la mémoire d'un homme aussi estimé et aussi chéri, est, à ce qu'il me semble, la plus digne de lui, et du Prince qui en avoit conçu le projet."

The following is the epitaph on his monument at Berlin :—

ANDRÉ MITCHELL
CHEVALIER DE L'ORDRE DU BAIN
DEPUTÉ AU PARLEMENT
DE LA GRANDE BRETAGNE
ENVOYÉ EXTRAORDINAIRE ET
MINISTRE PLENIPOTENTIAIRE
DU ROY
A LA COUR DE SA MAJESTÉ
LE ROY DE PRUSSE

DECEDÉ À BERLIN LE XXVIII JANV.
MDCCLXXI.

To this epitaph on Mitchell himself I am tempted to add some verses, the only thing of the kind I have found among Mitchell's Papers. They are in his own handwriting, without any explanation; but in the MS. list of the papers they are designated, "Verses in English, being an epitaph on * *." My own conjecture is, that they might have been intended for an epitaph on his wife. I think I have seen verses very like them somewhere among the collections of that or the preceding age, but I cannot remember where at present. If they are really Sir Andrew's own original composition, they appear to me to reflect credit on his talents for versification as well as on the character of the lady for whom they were designed.

Made to engage all hearts, to charm all eyes;
Tho' meek, magnanimous; tho' witty, wise;—
Polite, as all her life in Courts had been;
Yet good, as she the world had never seen;
The noble fire of an exalted mind,
With gentlest female tenderness combined:—

Her speech was the melodious voice of love,
Her song the warbling of the vernal grove :—
Her eloquence was sweeter than her song,
Soft as her heart, and as her reason strong :—
Her form the beauty of her mind exprest ;
Her mind was Virtue by the Graces drest.

I give the following anecdotes of Sir Andrew Mitchell, as they are related by M. Thiebault. The reader may take M. Thiebault's defence of M. de Schlaberndorff for what it is worth, but he will find, I believe, more indications of the opinion Sir A. Mitchell entertained of him in the dispatches relating to the Seven Years' War.

" Le Chevalier Mitchel, invité à un grand souper chez le Comte Finck-enstein, étoit dans le salon avec quelques autres personnes, lors-qu'on annonça M. de Schlaberndorff. Comment, s'écria-t-il, est-ce que ce ministre n'est pas encore pendu ?—Non, lui dit-on, il se porte fort bien en Silésie, où il est toujours : c'est son fils aîné que l'on annonce.—Mais moi, reprit-il, c'est du père que je parle. Il faut qu'il soit pendu, ou bien il n'y a pas de justice en ce monde. M. de Schlaberndorff, fils aîné du ministre, très-joli cavalier, qui venoit de finir ses voyages, et qui étoit extrêmement honnête, vint le lendemain faire ses doléances sur ce propos à M. du Troussel, en qui il avoit une très-grande confiance. Voilà, lui disoit-il, ce que j'ai entendu, et ce que j'ai été obligé de paroître ne pas entendre, tant par égard pour la maison où j'étois, qu'à cause de l'âge et du caractère public de l'envoyé d'Angleterre. M. du Troussel le consola d'abord autant qu'il put : mais son

jeune ami répétant, sans cesse, qu'il étoit bien malheureux, à la fin son consolateur lui dit avec une gaieté toute militare : Mon ami, prenez votre parti, et tranquillisez vous : croyez-moi ; c'est en général une fort bonne chose, que d'être le fils d'un père pendu !

" Il faut croire que M. Mitchel avoit eu le *spleen*, lors-qu'il avoit ainsi parlé du ministre de Schlaberndorff, chez le Comte Finck-enstein : mais, au fond, il n'aimoit pas ce ministre, et prétendoit qu'on avoit des reproches très-graves à lui faire ; et c'est pendant la guerre de sept ans sur-tout, qu'il disoit en avoir recueilli les preuves : il l'accusoit d'être la cause de la ruine de la Silésie : il l'accusoit de mille sortes de vexations, soit générales, soit particulières. Je me bornerai d'observer à ce sujet, que ce ministre, vraiment attaché à son maître, a dû souvent, dans des temps malheureux et extraordinaires, se prêter pour sauver l'Etat, à des opérations rigoureuses qu'il ne se seroit pas permises en d'autres circonstances : peut être aussi M. de Schlaberndorff a-t-il cru devoir préférer la sévérité à l'indulgence, dans un pays conquis, où tant de personnes pouvoient être encore attachées à leur ancien maître. La surveillance et l'activité peuvent-elles être trop grandes en pareil cas ? Mais, combien ne nous font-elles pas d'ennemis ? Et, qui peut dire alors jus-qu'où la haine et la calomnie se porteront ? Frédéric n'a pas fait pendre M. de Schlaberndorff : il lui a au contraire conservé les preuves de sa confiance. Celui-ci a été ministre tout puissant en Silésie, et en quelque sorte vice-roi durant trente ans, et jusqu'à sa mort.

" J'ai déjà fait entendre que M. Mitchel avoit peu de sociétés, ou que du moins s'il avoit quelques sociétés formées selon ses goûts, il ne figuroit point dans les tourbillons sans nécessité. Il étoit pour lui-même, comme pour les autres, une fort bonne compagnie : son cercle particulier n'embrassoit guères qu'un petit nombre d'anciennes connoissances, M. César, et quelques académiciens, à la téte desquels je place notre doyen d'age M. de Francheville. Le ministre anglois le plaçoit toujours à côté de lui, et le servoit lui-même selon ce que pouvoient requérir son âge et sa santé. Le caractère loyal et candide de cet académicien plaisoit beaucoup au chevalier, qui à côté de lui éprouvoit lui-même une douce satisfaction à n'être que franc, simple et bonhomme : mais si l'un de ses convives se hasardoit à troubler ce repos des esprits par quelques mots propres à mortifier ou embarrasser quelqu'un, alors lui-même étoit très-prompt à le repousser. Je me rapelle qu'un jour je me trouvai chez lui avec l'abbé Pernety qui croyoit aux Patagons, et un M. de Roux de Bordeaux, invité là peut-être parce qu'il se disoit parent des messieurs de Forcade, famille françoise très-considérée à Berlin. Ce M. de Roux entreprit de badiner M. Pernety sur cette race de géans que l'on dit exister a la pointe australe de l'Amérique. Dès sa première phrase, M. Mitchel prit la parole, et lui dit : Vous ne croyez donc point, monsieur, à la possibilité de cette race ? Ainsi vous avez calculé les forces de la nature, et vous savez quelles sont les limites entre lesquelles elle peut promener ses variations, mais qu'elle ne peut jamais outrepasser ? Vous êtes bien

savant, monsieur, et beaucoup plus que toutes les académies du monde! Cependant il me reste une objection à vous faire: nous voyons que la nature produit des individus et même des races extrêmement petites: nous avons des endroits où l'on ne rencontre guères que des espèces de nains. (Il faut remarquer que M. de Roux étoit très-petit et M. Pernety très-grand.) Eh bien, pourriez-vous m'expliquer comment et pourquoi la nature ne pourroit pas faire en plus ce qu'elle fait tous les jours en moins? Et si vous vouliez nier mes races de nains, dont au moins vous ne nierez pas les exemples individuels, expliquez-moi comment la nature ne pourroit pas pour celles-là ce qu'elle fait pour ceux-ci. Après cet argument qui n'eut point de réplique, on parla d'autres choses."

I have given the above anecdote on the authority of M. Thiebault; but, unless it be considered that the nature of the attack on M. Pernety justified Mitchell in his line of defence, it will be observed that his argument, so far from being, as M. Thiebault says, unanswerable, besides the vice, and, in this case, the ill manners (sufficient, I almost venture to think, to justify my grandfather's description, already quoted, "an ill-humoured old fellow") of an *argumentum ad hominem*, is unsound on other grounds. Mitchell's argument ultimately resolves itself into this:—Nature furnishes individual examples of dwarfs and giants, why might she not also furnish races of dwarfs and giants? It might also be said—Nature made Frederic and Napoleon, why might

she not make races of Frederics and Napoleons? The answer to both questions is, that she does not. And, unless other evidence than this can be produced of the existence of the Patagonian race of giants, their existence rests on no better foundation than the Ptolemaic and all the other false systems or hypotheses, founded on an imperfect or incorrect observation of Nature.

The following character of Sir Andrew Mitchell appeared in the "London Chronicle" of February 7th, 1771. I do not know by whom it was written.

"On the 28th of last month died, at Berlin, Sir Andrew Mitchell, Knight of the Bath, for fifteen years[2] past his Majesty's Minister at that Court; a station which he filled with the highest reputation and with the greatest ability. No man in his sphere of life was ever more universally revered; for, in every point of view, his character was singularly amiable. In the midst of courts he preserved his integrity of heart untainted. His conduct in a public capacity was directed singly to one object—the glory of his country, which was ever his ruling passion, and the honour of his gracious master, who hath in him lost not only a faithful but an affectionate servant. In private life his behaviour was so uniformly benevolent and engaging, that no person was ever more generally esteemed and

[2] It appears, from a memorandum at the commencement of the first of Mitchell's letter-books, that he arrived at Berlin on Saturday, 8th May, 1756, in the evening; so that his Berlin mission lasted, altogether, fourteen years and nine months.

beloved. In his domestic concerns he was an economist without parsimony, and generous without prodigality, ever preserving that golden mean which not only enables a man to fulfil his engagements to society, but secures his independence. But, for these valuable and necessary purposes, he had from his earliest youth a noble contempt for wealth. To such uncommon merit it may, perhaps, be necessary to add, that he was an excellent scholar, and possessed a vein of humour, without the least acrimony, that made his conversation equally delightful and instructive. He died a widower, and without issue; but his country, for which he had a truly paternal affection, will long lament and feel his loss.

> ——— Cui Pudor, et Justitiæ soror,
> Incorrupta Fides nudaque Veritas
> Quando ullum invenient parem!

"Last night a messenger, with dispatches of importance, set out from St. James's for the Court of Berlin.

"It is reported that Sir Joseph Yorke will be appointed to succeed the late Sir Andrew Mitchell, as his Britannic Majesty's Ambassador at the Court of Berlin, and that another ambassador will be sent to the Hague."

Sir Joseph Yorke, however, did not succeed him, but Sir Joseph Yorke was created Lord Dover; and Mr. (afterwards Sir James) Harris, who did succeed him, was created Earl of Malmesbury; while he, who did and suffered what no mere British ambassador did and suffered before or since, died Sir Andrew Mitchell, Knight of the Bath.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE EARL MARISCHAL OF SCOTLAND AND HIS BROTHER FIELD-MARSHAL KEITH—DUNOTTAR CASTLE—STRANGE VICISSITUDES OF FORTUNE OF THE TWO BROTHERS—JAMES KEITH ENTERS THE SPANISH SERVICE—CHANGES IT FOR THE RUSSIAN—RISE OF THE RUSSIAN MONARCHY—POLICY OF PETER THE GREAT—CHARLES XII. OF SWEDEN—MAZEPPA—THE UKRAINE—EFFECT OF CHARLES'S RASHNESS ON THE FUTURE FATE OF EUROPE—STILL FURTHER PROMOTED BY THE RASHNESS OF NAPOLEON—GENERAL KEITH AND THE TURKISH GRAND VIZIER, SON OF THE BELLMAN OF KIRKALDY—KEITH, GOVERNOR OF THE UKRAINE—CHANGES THE RUSSIAN SERVICE FOR THE PRUSSIAN—MADE FIELD-MARSHAL BY FREDERIC—HIS DEATH AT THE BATTLE OF HOCHKIRCH.

Among the many distinguished men with whom Mitchell's eventful life brought him into intimacy and friendship, and whose letters are found among his papers, there are none to whom a greater interest attaches than the two Keiths, George Keith, Earl Marischal of Scotland, and Field-Marshal James Keith. These two brothers, the representatives of a long line[1] of warriors and nobles, and the elder of whom derived his title through an uninterrupted male descent from a time when the names of Bruce and Douglas, of De Vere and Plantagenet were unknown in Britain, struggled manfully against all

[1] Their ancestors had been great Marischals and Earl Marischals of Scotland for more than 700 years. *See* Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 184, *et seq.*

the ills of poverty and exile, and by their talents and virtues won for themselves a name and station in a foreign country and under another standard than that which their fathers had followed to so many battles. Mr. Lockhart, in his most interesting Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott, informs us that it was during a visit to the ruins of their huge old fortress, Dunottar Castle, in Kincardineshire, that Sir Walter Scott saw, for the first and last time, Peter Paterson, the living *Old Mortality*. Would that Sir Walter, amid the many themes which his genius has consecrated, had told the story of these two brothers, a story which would exemplify the saying that "truth is stranger than fiction." In their case it may be truly said that misfortune was no fruit of crime or folly, but was rendered doubly sacred by fortitude, generosity, and honour. The character of the younger brother in particular, the Field-Marshal, would have delighted and interested Sir Walter in the highest degree, presenting, as it did, the spectacle, doubly remarkable in that age, of a man of the noblest birth driven by hard necessity to become a soldier of fortune, "sans country and home," and yet preserving in that situation not a few qualities worthy of Bayard.

In passing along the east coast of Scotland, the attention of the traveller is arrested at a point about two miles south of Stonehaven, by the extensive ruins of a castle, on a huge rock overhanging the sea on three sides, on the fourth separated from the land by a

narrow but deep ravine. The cliffs (of the pudding-stone formation), for several miles along this part of the coast, are from two to three hundred feet in height. The rock upon which the ruins stand, rises perpendicularly about 160 feet above the level of the sea; so that, although before the modern inventions in war it was almost impregnable, it is now, from the summit of the rock being somewhat lower than the opposite cliff, commanded by it. The only access to it is by a path, said to have been causewayed, which descends the cliff to the bottom of the ravine, and then, almost from the beach, ascends the rock on which the castle stands. Long before this path arrives at the summit of the rock, it is met by a wall thirty-four feet in height, the only aperture in which is an arched gateway, about six feet wide and nine feet high, formerly defended by a heavy portcullis. About thirty feet within this gateway is an apartment about thirty feet by nine, called the guard-room; between the gate and the guard-house is the end of another apartment, called the magazine. The passage after various turnings, and leading through two other arched gates or "sallyports," reaches the top of the rock, which is reckoned about four English acres in extent; on which, besides the state apartments and those of the family, were stables and barrack-rooms, a strong tower (the ground floor of which forming latterly the barrack kitchen, and the upper floors the officers' rooms), a chapel and churchyard, a reservoir or well, and a bowling-green. All these buildings are now roofless and in ruins. From the state

of the stairs it is somewhat hazardous to ascend to the top of the donjon tower. The "long gallery," which was "curiously ceiled with oak and after a very rich form," is, like the rest, roofless. Floors once laid with marble are now waving with grass and nettles. There is one place in this castle possessing a painful interest, called the Whigs' Vault, which it is only necessary to allude to, in order to state that the cruelties perpetrated there are not chargeable on the family to whom the castle belonged, the castle being then used as a state prison, but on that government which has earned an unenviable place in history by the deeds of Kirke and Jeffries, of Claverhouse and Lauderdale. The name of the castle is Dunottar, anciently spelled Dunotyr—"Dun" signifying a fortress, and "tir," land jutting into the sea. It was an object of fierce contention in the wars which Edward the First and Edward the Third waged against Scotland. It bid defiance to the fury of Montrose, who burned and wasted all the country round. It held out the longest of any place in Britain against the troops of Cromwell.

This huge old fortress, over which

> "Many a vanish'd year and age,
> And tempest's breath and battle's rage
> Have pass'd,"

and the ruins of which, from their extent and position, are accounted the most majestic in Scotland, was originally built by, and belonged for many ages to, the Keiths, Earls Marischals of Scotland. The present condition of this once proud fortress, the grass-grown

courts, the roofless chambers, the ruined towers, inhabited only by birds of night, represent in some degree the fortunes of its once powerful lords. The silence of desolation is broken only by the winds sighing and howling among the towers above, and the waves of the German Ocean breaking upon the rocks below ; and of them it may be truly said that

> "The bat builds in their castle bower,
> And in the fortress of their power
> The owl usurps the beacon tower."

The male line of the elder branch of the family, to which this castle belonged for so many ages, ended in two brothers, whose history, chequered with many vicissitudes of fortune, would, if it could be minutely told, be stranger than any romance ever penned.

From the time that their ancestor was appointed hereditary Great Marshal of Scotland, for his services against the Danes, at the battle of Barry, early in the 11th century, this family figured largely, not only in the feudal strife of stormy times and a fierce and warlike people, but occupied a post of honour, and performed important services in almost all the great battles that decided the fate of their country. In their case the office of Marischal of Scotland did not, though hereditary, sink into an idle sinecure and an empty name. For more than 700 years the banner of the three bloody pales was seen foremost, or, at least, second to none (save, perhaps, that of the crowned Heart), in every battle where the honour and independence of their country were to be fought for. At Bannockburn, at Otterburn,

at the "red Harlaw," their valour greatly helped to determine the fortune of the day; and they left a due proportion of their best and bravest dead on the field of Flodden. Along with the virtues and the heroic deeds of a warlike nobility, they probably may come in for some share of the vices and the crimes. Yet, on the whole, though in Scotland there are one or two names, such as Bruce and Douglas, associated with greater power and higher renown, we believe that none could be named which is associated with a longer course of honourable public services, and with fewer base, cruel, and dishonourable actions, than that of this family.

Although in consequence of the civil wars of the 17th century, and other causes, the possessions of the Earls Marischal were considerably diminished towards the beginning of the 18th century, yet at one time they were proportioned to their rank and the great strength of their castle of Dunottar. Towards the end of the 16th century the estates were reckoned at 270,000 marks (Scots) a-year, or upwards of 14,000 pounds sterling,—an immense rental for that time, and equal (particularly considering the great increase of rent in Scotland, greater in proportion than in England,) to considerably upwards of 100,000 pounds sterling at the present time. So extensive were the possessions of William, the fourth Earl Marischal, that in journeying from the borders of England to the northernmost part of Caithness, it is said that he could eat every meal and sleep every night on his own estates. We have heard it said of a Scottish Duke of the present day, the head

of an ancient border clan, that he could do much the same in travelling from Eton to the Scottish border.

The two brothers, to whom we have alluded as the last males of the elder branch of this family, were George Keith, the twenty-seventh Great Marischal in male descent and succession from him who defeated the Danes at Barry, and tenth Earl Marischal of Scotland; and his younger brother, James Keith,[2] afterwards so well known over Europe as Field-Marshal Keith. At a very early age the elder brother served under the Duke of Marlborough, and was made Captain of the Guards by Queen Anne; but on the accession of George I. he resigned that command. James Keith is said to have been designed by his friends for the bar, as a profession, probably for the same reason that David Hume assigns for his designation to the same profession; "my studious disposition, my sobriety, and my industry, gave my family a notion that the law was a proper profession for me." We mention this merely as showing that James Keith was naturally of a studious and thoughtful character, with a decided aptitude for the sciences and literature, and therefore as in part revealing the secret of his success under all disadvantages in his profession as a soldier; a profession which, though often selected as a fit employment for the idle and the dull, for those who possess neither the ability nor the industry which are essential to success in any profession,

[2] His name, I believe, according to the baptismal register, was James Francis Edward Keith; but all his letters to Sir A. Mitchell, which have any signature, are signed only James Keith. He was born in the castle of Inverugie, near Peterhead, and baptised on the 16th day of June, 1696.

requires for the highest eminence in it a combination of mental as well as bodily qualities that is rarely met with.

When the feeble and unfortunate son of the last Stuart who reigned in Britain made his attempt in 1715 to recover the kingdom which his father had so justly forfeited, the two Keiths joined his standard with a troop of horse consisting chiefly of Buchan gentlemen. But they cannot, notwithstanding their high rank, be held responsible for the mismanagement of the enterprise; for they were mere boys at the time, the youngest being but 18, and the eldest but 21. I have also heard a tradition in the neghbourhood of their ancient fortress, that their original intention was to fight for King George; but that, as they were mounting their horses, their mother, a Roman Catholic, and a daughter of James Drummond, Earl of Perth, came down into the courtyard of the castle, and told them that they should not have her blessing if they did not fight for the House of Stuart. However, though themselves bred Protestants, it was natural enough that young as they then were, and full of the chivalrous feeling and chivalrous daring which neither adversity nor poverty, nor toil, nor wounds, nor old age, which death alone could quench, they should still be willing to strike a blow for the heirs, feeble and unworthy as they were and had been, of the hero whom their ancestor[3] had followed to so many battles. Truly

[3] He was the chief instrument in gaining the battle of Inverury, which was the first that Robert Bruce won: and for his signal services, the King gave

there seems but small need to preach up hero-worship to mankind. It would seem to be a tendency of the human mind to carry it too far. The Stuarts were supported through centuries of folly, of misgovernment, of crime, by many gallant and honourable men, for little reason that we can discern save that they were the heirs of the great Robert Bruce. And we need not to go so far back as the Stuarts for an example of the suffrages of millions being heaped on a man simply because he was the inheritor of a great name.

When all was lost, the two brothers, after many hardships, succeeded in effecting their escape, and went first to France. They were attainted, and their estates forfeited. The wide world was now all before them, though it might be said to be a "world without a friend;" but they were young, high-spirited, of vigorous constitution and good abilities, of prepossessing appearance and most pleasing manners. They both possessed in an eminent degree that which Queen Elizabeth is said to have declared to be the best letter of introduction. There are very good portraits of them at Keith Hall, the seat of their relative the Earl of Kintore, and also in the Marischal College of Aberdeen. That of the elder brother represents a young man with an open, intelligent, and very handsome countenance, in complete armour, with the Marshal's staff in his hand. The face,

him one of his own castles, called Hallforest (not far from Inverury), and several adjoining lands. He commanded the horse at Bannockburn, with what effect is well known. The King gave him the greatest part of his cousin the Earl of Buchan's lands, forfeited for adhering to the English interest.

we think, is as handsome as that of Sir Walter Scott's hero, "bonny Dundee," with a much better expression.[4] In regard to the younger brother, James Keith, his features expressed thought and resolution; above all, as described by those who knew him, he had an air of so much goodness, that it quite won the heart at his very first appearance. To judge from his portraits, we have seldom seen a face more expressive of honesty, sagacity, and goodness. He was rather above the middle height, and extremely well proportioned. His constitution was remarkably vigorous, till weakened by the almost incredible fatigues which he underwent.

We have not dwelt upon the high station and far descent of these men because they over-rated, or because we over-rate, the advantages of high birth. Where the qualities that are most valuable in men exist, high birth will set them off to more advantage. Where these are not, no birth or rank will supply the place of them. Where the metal is true, and of the highest temper, the rank or birth is the stamp which gives it currency, by being to the man what the guinea stamp is to the gold. The stamp may be a counterfeit; but every man sees that the best gold passes more

[4] Probably no more striking instance could be produced of the magic power of genius, than Sir Walter's success in the apotheosis of Dundee, a man who, except his good looks and his cruelty, would really appear to have very small claims to be niched into herodom, or even considered as anything remarkable. He was beaten by an undisciplined peasantry at Drumclog; his victory at Bothwell Brigg was nothing to boast of; his victory at Killicrankie might be owing as much to the unusual mode of attack of his troops as the victories in 1745 at Prestonpans and Sheriffsmuir, which have never been pretended to transform either the Pretender or any of his officers into heroes.

readily by having the stamp impressed upon it. We hear a great deal in these days about "Nature's nobility," and, no doubt, such may be found among the lowest born. But it is matter of common observation that fully more than the due proportion of "Nature's villains" and "Nature's scoundrels" are to be met with among men of the class below the middle class who are ambitious of rising rapidly. The extreme, almost fierce, eagerness of such men to attain a position which is altogether novel to them, is apt to make them resort to means which men, to whom the position is not novel, regard with abhorrence or contempt. This, in part, accounts for the habitual baseness of demagogues on the one hand, and of the flatterers and minions of kings on the other, and likewise of jobbers and tricksters in all those departments of government where there is much room for jobbing and trickery. But, in regard to the merits and claims of birth, we would add, that James Keith by no means was of the opinion of that "proud Count Palatine," who gave his predecessor in the government of the Ukraine, Mazeppa, his "uncourteous ride," and who

> "O'er his pedigree would pore,
> Until by some confusion led,
> That almost look'd like want of head,
> He thought their virtues were his own;"

and that we have mentioned, perhaps a little too lengthily, the far descent of the Keiths, on account of the contrast between the prospects of their early youth and the fortunes of their manhood.

In many instances one is struck with the contrast between those whom the success of the Parliamentary forces in the great struggle of the 17th century drove into exile, and those whose exertions for the House of Stuart in the 18th century condemned to the same fate. The cavaliers who followed the standard of Charles the First and his son, when compelled to quit England, seldom, if ever, appeared to think of betaking themselves to any occupation, either peaceful or warlike, where a course of steady industry might better their fortunes. The case was very different with many of those who fought for the Stuarts in 1715 and 1745. They employed themselves successfully in war, in diplomacy, even in commerce. Some earned fame and honour under foreign standards, and some earned wealth in far distant lands. A younger branch of one of the most ancient peer's families in Scotland fled from Culloden and took refuge in India, where it founded a mercantile house that has flourished ever since. Among the memories of early boyhood I still retain a vivid impression of the venerable face and snow-white hair of an aged relative who had fought at Culloden, and after long years of exile had returned to his native country, and with the fruit of honourable industry and frugality bought back the forfeited estate of his forefathers.

In his Memoir[5] the Marshal gives the characters,

[5] A Fragment of a Memoir of Field-Marshal James Keith, written by himself, 1714—1734. Edinburgh, 1843. Presented to the Spalding Club by Thomas Constable. 4to, pp. 124. A short biography of the Field-Marshal was published a few years ago at Berlin, by Varnhagen von Ense. I have not

sketched in a few hasty but bold lines, of the Jacobite leaders. His character of the Duke of Ormonde is a masterpiece in its way. "He was as irresolute and timorous in affairs as he was brave in his person, and was apt to lose good opportunities by waiting to remove difficulties which naturally attend great designs, and of which a part must always be left to fortune in the execution; he was a man of entire honour, a good friend, and a strict observer of his word." In a similar style, in few and simple but apt words, he traces the public events in which he was engaged, and the characters of the principal actors in them from 1714 to 1734; while, with what the author of the introduction happily calls "a careless modesty," though he mentions some of the hardships his brother and himself had to endure, "he keeps his own deeds and merits out of view, and leaves us to learn the estimation his military genius and conduct obtained, by the rapid progress which he made to rank and honour, in a foreign service, and without friends." The modesty, indeed, of both the brothers was remarkable. When Cardinal Alberoni offered the Earl Marischal the rank of Lieutenant-General, he would not accept of it, as not thinking himself entitled to it, either by his age or services, and accepted of a much inferior one.

As soon as James Keith reached Paris, he went to kiss the Queen Mother's hand, who received him very

seen it, but can state, on good authority, that, while it adds little to the well-known facts, it is well written, and shows the interest still connected with the name of the Field-Marshal and his brother in Prussia. Von Ense does not appear to have seen the Spalding volume, nor its editor his.

graciously; told him she had already heard how he had behaved in her son's service, and assured him that neither of them should ever forget it; "in a word," says the Marshal, "had I conquered a kingdom for her, she could not have said more." He asked her permission to go to the King, but she told him he must stay at Paris; that he was young, and that she would put him to the Academy to learn his exercises. However, for some time, he heard no more of it, and having left Scotland so abruptly that he had no time to provide any money to bring along with him, what he had was soon at an end; and his friends in Scotland, not knowing to what part of the world he had gone, had sent no bills for him; he was, therefore, obliged to live by selling horse furniture and other things of that nature which an officer commonly carries with him, for his pride would not let him apply to relations he had in Paris, who could have supplied him, and would, he says, have done it with pleasure. About a month after, the Queen sent him 1000 livres, and ordered him to enter into the Academy; and much about the same time a banker in Paris told him he had orders from Scotland to supply him with money, and that the King had ordered him to give him 200 crowns a year, which was all his circumstances could allow him. The rest of the year 1716 he passed at the Academy, and in the beginning of the year 1717 he received a commission of colonel of horse, and orders to prepare to go to Scotland, the King of Sweden intending to invade that kingdom. But this design being discovered and

prevented, James Keith continued all that year at the Academy.

About the beginning of the year 1718, James Keith's friends advised him to get recommendations for the Court of Spain from King James, and to go to Madrid and offer his services, the war between the Emperor of Spain being begun by the preparations the latter was making for invading Sicily. "But," he says, "I was then too much in love to think of quitting Paris, and though shame and my friends forced me to take some steps towards it, yet I managed it so slowly that I set out only in the end of that year, and had not my mistress and I quarrelled, and that other affairs came to concern me more than the conquest of Sicily did, it's probable I had lost many years of my time to very little purpose, so much was I taken up with my passion."

At the time when the Keiths left their native country as fugitives and exiles, it was a matter of no small difficulty to find an asylum, almost all the powers of Europe being in friendship, or at least at peace with, George the First. After the death of Louis the Fourteenth, France was among the powers most unfavourable to the pretensions of the House of Stuart; the Regent Orleans being desirous of securing the aid of England, in case a vacancy should make room for his pretensions on the throne. Until Alberoni engaged Spain in a war with England, the only European power that seemed disposed to assist the cause of the Stuarts was Charles the Twelfth of Sweden; and if he had succeeded in

effecting a landing in Britain, whatever might have been the issue, history would in all probability have had to record exploits more remarkable than belong to those Stuart expeditions of 1715 and 1745.

In the beginning of the year 1719, the two brothers repaired to Spain, in consequence of a letter which the Earl Marischal received from the Duke of Ormonde, who had gone to Madrid by the invitation of Cardinal Alberoni. They embarked at Marseilles, and, after some bad weather, arrived at Palamos on the coast of Catalonia. They were carried before the Commandant, who asked them if they had recommendation to any at the Court of Madrid. But they only answered, that they were English officers who were going to Madrid to seek employment in the army, the Duke of Ormonde having desired them to keep their journey private. The Commandant then told them, he could let them go no further, for that, coming from an enemy's country, and giving so lame an account of themselves, he must send them to the next governor, who might dispose of them as he should think fit; and that there being then an Irish regiment in that place, commanded by the Duke of Liria, perhaps they might find some of their countrymen who might answer for them. The news of the Duke of Liria's being so near was not a little agreeable to them, and they told him they asked no better, for that the Duke would answer for them. Accordingly, next morning, they were sent to Gironne, with a letter to the Governor, and a soldier, whom the Commandant said he sent because the roads were

infested by robbers, but, in reality, to take care they did not make their escape. They arrived in the evening, and having delivered the letter to the Governor, he ordered them to be carried to the Duke's quarters to be examined, who was not a little surprised at their appearance, and immediately sent to acquaint the Governor that he answered for the two gentlemen, but concealed their names at the desire of the Earl Marischal. Two days after, they arrived at St. Andreu, hard by Barcelona, and thence sent a letter from the Duke of Liria to Prince Pio of Savoy, who was then Captain-General of that province, begging him to allow them to come into the town without being examined at the gates. About an hour after, they saw a coach and six mules with the Prince's livery at the door of their inn. This surprised them, and still more the respect, his doctor, whom he had sent in his coach to receive them, paid to two strangers he had never before seen. The reason, which they did not know till long after, was, that some days before he had received letters from the Cardinal, that King James would arrive very soon in some of the ports of Catalonia incognito ; that he should receive him in the same manner, and take care to provide everything for the despatch of his journey to Madrid. "This," adds the Marshal, "with the Duke of Liria's letter, occasioned our entry into Barcelona in this manner ; and I believe he was sorry to have given himself so much trouble about us, when he knew who we were, yet he received us very civilly, tho' with some embarrass." After fifteen days' journey they arrived at

Madrid, and the same evening sent to acquaint the Cardinal they were come. He ordered them to attend him early next morning, when he told them that the business was to execute an enterprise on England; that the Duke of Ormonde was already set out to embark at the Groine for England; and it was resolved he, the Earl Marischal, should go to Scotland. The result was another unfortunate expedition (1719), in which the two Keiths underwent more hardships and dangers for the House of Stuart. The Earl Marischal had a commission of Major-General, and his brother one of Colonel in the Spanish service. James Keith, who embarked in a small vessel of about 25 tons in the mouth of the Seine, on the 19th of March, for the isle of Lewis, which was the place of rendezvous, had a narrow escape at the outset; for, when off the land's-end at night, they found themselves in the middle of a fleet, seven of which had out lights, and the others none. These they conjectured to be men of war, and the rest transports; and finding the number of the former to agree with what the Duke of Ormonde had, Keith made no doubt but it was his fleet. However, the wind being favourable, they passed through them without speaking to them, in which they were very lucky, for it proved a squadron of English men-of-war transporting a body of troops from Ireland to England, where they had at last got the news of the invasion intended against them. He arrived the 4th of April, N. S., in the isle of Lewis, where he found the Earl Marischal with two Spanish frigates at anchor in the harbour of Stornoway, and the

Spanish troops still on board. The Earl Marischal, on the Marquesses of Seafort and Tullibardine joining, asked to know what commissions each had, that the command might be regulated; and Lord Tullibardine not owning his late commissions, the command remained in Lord Marischal as eldest Major-General. But next morning Lord Tullibardine desired that a council of war might be assembled; and after having made a sort of speech, which, says the Marshal, nobody understood but himself, he presented his commission of Lieutenant-General, and the Earl Marischal resigned to him the command, only reserving the command of the ships, for which he, as well as the commanders, had positive orders from the Cardinal.

In 1720 the brothers repaired to Rome, where, says the Marshal, "after about six weeks' stay, we took our leave of the King, to return to Spain. His Majesty, who knew that we were in want of money, sent his favourite, Mr. Hay, to the Pope, to desire him to advance him 1000 Roman crowns on his ordinary pension; which the other refused, on pretence of poverty. This I mention only to show the genius of Clement the XI., and how little regard churchmen have for those who have abandoned all for religion. The King, finding nothing was to be expected from that quarter, borrowed the summe from a banckier and gave it us."

James Keith returned to Madrid in July, 1720, and at this time he was, as he informs us in his Memoir, in great distress, hardly knowing where to turn for a meal and a lodging. "The campagne of the year before,"

he says, "and the journeys I had made since, had entirely exhausted what money I had; and the Cardinal Alberoni being no more in Spain, I was, as the French says, *au pié de la lettre sur le pavé*, I knew nobody, and was known to none; and had not my good fortune brought Rear-Admiral Cammock to Madrid, whom I had known formerly in Paris, I don't know what would have become of me. He immediately offered me his house and his table, both which I was glad to accept of."

In October, 1722, Keith set out from Madrid, with the Duke of Liria, for Paris. On the road their discourse fell on the affairs of Scotland in the year 1715. "As both of us," says the Marshal, "laid the blame of its miscarriage on the Duke of Marr, the Duke of Liria said he had a good mind to revenge himself on him as far as he could; that he knew he was extremely jealous, and that to vex him he would make his court to his wife. This piece of malice cost the Duke of Liria dear, for what he began in jest turned earnest; and having, it seems, found charms in the Duchess which before he had not discovered, he in the end as heartily loved the wife as he hated the husband." Keith now made an attempt to get into the French service, which, he says, by good luck did not succeed—"Knowing well how difficult it is for a stranger to make his way in a country where all the nobility serves, and where commonly the King has more officers than he has bread to give them."

During 1723 and 1724, Keith remained at Paris. In the beginning of 1725, the Spanish Ambassador, in consequence of the extraordinary proceeding of the

Duke de Bourbon in his manner of breaking off the marriage of the King of France and the Infanta of Spain, notified that all the Spanish officers then in Paris should return with the Infanta. Keith hardly looked on himself as a Spanish officer, since he was fixed to no regiment, but the prospect of a war led him to hope for more encouragement than he had met with before. Accordingly, though he could not set out with the Infanta, by reason of a surgical operation in his arm for a tumour, as soon as it began to heal, he followed and joined her at Bayonne. "We arrived at Madrid," he says, "in the midst of ten thousand execrations against those who had been the occasion of our journey, and the people were so exasperated, that it was enough to be dressed in the French manner, to occasion being insulted in the streets." But nothing appearing likely to arise out of this for the present, Keith retired to Valencia, which was the place marked for his payment, where he remained till the month of June, 1726, when news came that a rupture was unavoidable between England and Spain. The King of Spain ordered a considerable body of troops to march to Andalousia, on pretence of building a new fort at the Algeziras, opposite to the town of Gibraltar. "It was plain enough to see," says the Marshal, "that this could not be the reall design of marching 20 thousand men, but the rest was a mistery; as the number was too great for the building a new fort, so it was too small for attempting so strong a place as Gibraltar. This made many believe that an enterprise was formed on England

it self, and that those troops were to be embarcked at Cadiz, and this made me go immediately to Madrid, to desire to be employed in the expedition. I received the ordinary answer, that being a Protestant, the King could not give me any command in his troops; on which I asked the permission to serve the campaign as a volunteer, fully resolved it should be the last I should make in that country, where I saw, that only meer necessity to be revenged on the English had made them take me into their service, and where I must pass the rest of my life, not only without advancement, but even without exercising the employment I had; however, I resolved to pass the campaign without complaining, and then take my party."

The enterprise proved to be against Gibraltar, and the Marshal gives some details of the siege. "At last," he concludes, "June the 23rd (1727), orders came from Court to cease all acts of hostility, and to agree on a suspension of arms with the Governour; and thus ended a siege of five months, in which we had about 2000 men killed or wounded, and in which all we gained was the knowledge that the place was impregnable by land."

Keith now put in execution the plan he had formed at the commencement of the campaign. "This war," he says, "being now at an end, and I in the same condition as before, I resolved to make one push more before I left Spain, and, accordingly, wrote a letter to the King of Spain's confessor, representing to him how long I had served, and that, being the oldest Collonel

reformed of the British nation, I hoped he would solicite the King in my behalf, that I might have the first Irish regiment vacante; to which I received the answer I expected, that his Majesty assured me that, howsoon he knew I was Roman Catholick, I should not only have what I asked, but that he would take care of my fortune. On the receipt of this letter, I went straight to Madrid, and desired his Majesties recommendation to the Empresse of Russia, since I found my religion was an invincible obstacle to my continuing in his, which he immediately granted me, and ordered the Marquess of Castellar to write to the Duke of Liria, then Embassador at the Court of Russia, to recommend me, in his name, to that Sovraigne." So good an effect was produced by the Duke of Liria's solicitation, that, in the beginning of the year 1728, Keith received answer that the Emperor, Peter the Second, had received him into his service, in quality of Major-General, and, immediately after, the Prince Stcherbatof, the Russian Minister at Madrid, told him he had orders to inform the King of Spain of it, and to give him the necessary passports for his journey, which, in some weeks after, he began, the King of Spain having given him a gratification of 1000 crowns at his setting out.

Strange indeed were the vicissitudes of those men's lives. Strange was the contrast between the delicacy of their early nurture and the privations and hardships of their after-life; between the maternal care which would not suffer the winds of heaven to visit their faces too roughly, and the storms and whirlwinds which were

their portion in life, and pursued one of them to the grave. With no previous discipline but the early training of prosperity's most favoured children, they were called upon to endure the very worst that adversity could inflict. But there are certain lessons which adversity alone can teach; and in some cases, if not in all, her pupils come from her instruction better as well as wiser men. Cast, as the Keiths had been in early youth, upon the wide world, wanderers and exiles, with nothing to depend on but their own firmness and sagacity, they necessarily became, in some degree, learned in the ways of men; and necessarily too they learned somewhat of the lesson of self-reliance and of self-command. One lesson, however, which was much taught and practised in that age, and which has in all ages been considered by some as perhaps the most important part of self-command,—the art of using words, looks and gestures, not to express but to conceal thoughts; the art of lying, and looking in the face of him to whom you lie as if you were speaking the truth; of "kissing where you mean to kill,"—that lesson their ingenuous natures would not learn. "Helas!" said the Earl Marischal, when acting as ambassador for Prussia at the Court of France, "il faut pour ce métier là une finesse que je n'ai pas et que je ne me soucie point d'avoir." And his brother, the Field-Marshal, had his dislike of double-dealing sorely tried when acting, as he expressed it to Mitchell, as "a kind of minister, and had proposals of an extraordinary kind to make." "But then," he adds, "they were found reasonable,

because I had 14,000 men round Stockholm to plead the justice of my cause." It ought to be mentioned, to Frederic's honour, that perhaps the only men who never had reason to complain of his demeanour towards them, whom he honoured with especial regard, and treated with marked courtesy,—Mr. Villiers, afterwards Lord Hyde, and Earl of Clarendon; Sir Andrew Mitchell, and the two Keiths,—were all men who scorned the arts of sycophants, men distinguished by good sense, honourable feeling, and manly frankness of character. Frederic, however little on some occasions he displayed of sincerity and good faith in his own conduct, was of the same opinion with a minister from one of the northern courts, who said of Mr. Fox when he was Secretary of State, "J'aime beaucoup à avoir à faire avec M. Fox. Il n'est pas chicaneur."[6]

To those persons who think that no business of moment can be transacted without chicane and falsehood, without at least that species of falsehood which, though not a substantive verbal lie, amounts to a suppressio veri et suggestio falsi, and is, in fact, the

[6] If we merely regard the bodily strength and constitutional intrepidity of Achilles, he is, as an object of poetical interest, but little raised above an ordinary savage. But there is a feature of his character which always struck us as casting over him something of an air of moral grandeur. It is forcibly depicted in his own words, at least in those which his poet or historian has put into his mouth :—

> Ἐχθρὸς γάρ μοι κεῖνος, ὁμῶς ἀΐδαο πύλῃσιν,
> Ὅς χ' ἕτερον μὲν κεύθει ἐνὶ φρεσὶν, ἄλλο δὲ βάζει.
>
> *Il.* ix. v. 312.

His love of sincerity and of plain dealing, and his hatred of insincerity and of lying, are as much above the standard of morality of his age, as the social virtues of Hector are.

meaner, more cowardly sort of lie; who live upon advantages obtained under false pretences, by broken promises and disappointed hopes; and who, instead of feeling ashamed of their unspeakable baseness, hug themselves in their fancied cleverness, considering every man a fool who is not a chicaneur, and sneering at what they term the impracticable stupidity of those who persist in believing that words have a meaning, and that man should keep faith with man,—it may be hinted that a man who speaks the truth will often be found a most formidable opponent. Dr. Franklin accounts for his success as a diplomatist in this way. He spoke the truth, and they did not believe him, which had the same effect in putting his adversaries at fault as if he had composed the most complicated tissue of lies. There is a curious anecdote among the Mitchell Papers, which shows that the Earl Marischal could, consistently with his hatred of chicane, display the most consummate diplomatic talent. In 1740 or 1741, during the war between the Moscovites and the Swedes, when his brother commanded the Russian army in Friedland against the Swedes, in the absence of Marshal Lascy, Lord Marischal received in Valencia a letter from Don Sebastian de la Quadra, minister to the King of Spain, telling him that his brother, Mr. Keith, having demanded to return into the Spanish service, his most Catholic Majesty had accordingly received him as Lieutenant-General, and that the King had ordered him, Lord Marischal, to acquaint his brother of this. Lord Marischal being persuaded there

was something in this he could not well understand, wrote in answer to Don Sebastian de la Quadra to thank the King in his name, and in that of his brother, but that as Mr. Keith, his brother, had not given the least hint to him, he must have very strong reasons to keep the secret; that therefore he entreated his Excellency, Don Sebastian, to inform Mr. Keith of this mark of the King's favour by the same channel through which Mr. Keith had asked it. Don Sebastian, in return to Lord Marischal's letter, answered that he knew nothing at all of the affair, that it was *un officio de l'Ambaxdere de Francia* (the most worthy Bishop of Rennes). Lord Marischal never heard more of it in Spain; but his brother having followed the track, found it to be a trick of Cardinal Fleury and the Bishop of Rennes to render Mr. Keith, then at the head of the Russian army, suspected and perhaps arrested by the Court of Petersburg, as guilty of betraying their interest. The Swedes, upon Mr. Keith's person being seized, were to attack the Moscovites. Some time after, when Mr. Keith was in Sweden as Russian Minister, a Swedish minister (I believe Nolken [it is Lord Marischal who speaks]) owned to him that this was a contrivance of the Court of France in conjunction with that of Sweden. The original of the above statement is in the handwriting of Sir Andrew Mitchell, who wrote it down from Lord Marischal's own mouth, at Berlin, on the 14th February, 1769. The following words are written below in the Earl Marischal's hand: "All above is true and verifyes the Spanish proverb, 'Los

que no hara el Diablo hara un frayle, or a Cardinal, or a Bishop.'

"MARISCHALL."

Yet the natural disposition of the two brothers made exile and poverty more endurable than they would have been to minds less happily constituted. "A man of sense and honour finds himself at home every where," is the observation of the biographer of the Earl-Marshal, when circumstances obliged him to leave Spain and seek refuge in Venice. The same temper of mind carried the younger brother with honourable distinction through all the hardships and vicissitudes of the profession which he adopted—that of a soldier of fortune. And it is curious to observe how in this occupation, which at first sight might appear to be but little adapted for a man with a nice and delicate sense of honour, he supported the character of a true-hearted, a humane and honourable, as well as a brave, man. Finding that in the Spanish service his promotion was stopped unless he changed his religion and turned a Roman Catholic, he immediately resolved, though assured that if he made the change the King of Spain would take especial care of his fortune, to seek service where his religion would be no bar to his promotion. He accordingly entered the Russian service, however repulsive the character of that half-oriental despotism, and the habits of that more than semi-barbarous country might be to his nature. There his military knowledge and abilities soon raised him to rank and distinction;

and for a time, indeed, he held the same command to which, a few years before, according to Voltaire, *la supériorité de ses lumières* had raised Mazeppa : he was Prince or Governor of the Ukraine.

The reason of Keith's exchanging the Spanish service for the Russian emphatically marks one leading distinction between these two monarchies at that time. The Spanish monarchy, which a century before had been so powerful, was in a rapid decline. The Russian monarchy, which had made such vast progress under Peter the Great, might be said to be advancing. The Spanish monarchy had for ages been a vassal, and a very feeble and blind vassal, of the Church of Rome. The curse of priestcraft, of bigotry, of persecution, of long hereditary, and, apparently, hopeless incapacity, was upon her and hers. The Russian monarchy too had inherent vices deeply imbedded in its structure : but the energy of one of the most remarkable men of his own or any age had lately done much to improve and strengthen it.

About the middle of the ninth century a Varagian or Grandinavian pirate of the Baltic, named Rurik, subjugated a great part of the small independent Scythian and Sclavonian states, the principal of which were Kiew and Novgorod, and founded a dynasty, which continued to rule in uninterrupted male succession till 1598, through 56 sovereigns for 736 years. Joan or John III., the last but two of this line, married Sophia, the daughter or niece of the last Greek Emperor ; and the Roman Pontiff sent him, along with his bride, a double-headed

eagle, the emblem of imperial dignity, which was thenceforth proclaimed to be the national arms of Russia. The title of Czar was first assumed either by him or his son Joan IV. And although Voltaire asserts that the name is not derived or abbreviated from Cæsar, we think that this is at least doubtful, seeing that it was assumed in connection with an alliance with the representatives of the Cæsars, and the assumption of an emblem of imperial dignity. In 1613, the throne of Russia passed to the line of Romanoff, in the person of the Czar Michael Romanoff, a descendant, by females, from the house of Rurik. In 1689, Peter, the son of Alexis, and grandson of Michael Romanoff, ascended the throne. The details of the career of this extraordinary man have been too often told, to need repetition here. The Englishman is forcibly reminded of the strange and ludicrous contradictions that formed his character by a public-house near Tower-hill, which still bears the sign of the Czar of Russia, and to which he and his companions were in the habit of retiring to smoke and drink beer and brandy, after their day's work at Rotherhithe, where a ship was building for him, at which he worked as a common shipwright. There is one project of Peter's which we have never seen mentioned, except in the King of Prussia's *Histoire de Mon Temps*, but which deserves especial attention. Seeing that his states were ill-peopled in proportion to their vast extent, he resolved to collect between Petersburg, Moscow, Kasan, and Ukraine, the twelve millions of inhabitants scattered over his empire. By this means that portion would not only have been well-peopled and cultivated, but

would have become easy of defence by reason of the deserts which would have surrounded it, and separated it from the Persians, the Turks, and Tartars. This project, like many others, fell to the ground by the death of Peter. But this singular man,—although, to borrow the words of the writer above referred to, himself too a Prince to whom men have given the title of Great, and who with an energy not inferior to Peter's possessed a genius more universal as well as more cultivated than his; although in order to civilise his nation he worked on it like aqua fortis upon iron; though he was both the founder and the legislator of that vast empire; though he succeeded in making his nation and his own talents respected by all Europe,—remained to the last in his own person a brutal and licentious barbarian.

Whitworth, the English ambassador at the Court of Russia, in a dispatch of the 25th of March, 1705, speaks of the activity with which the Czar set about to form an army, and the success which attended it. "The foot," he says, "are generally very well exercised, and the officers tell me they cannot enough admire what application the common soldiers use till they have learned their duty. The Czar has lately formed sixteen regiments of dragoons, which generally consist of the nobility or landed men, several whereof are obliged to serve as common soldiers at their own expense. They are mounted upon light Tartar horses, and have had several successful rencontres with the Swedish parties in Liefland (Livonia); but it is not thought they will be able to make head, in a set battle, against the Swedish

cuirassiers, who have a great advantage by their horses and arms.

"The Cossacks are somewhat in the nature of the Emperor's hussars, and fitter for surprise and skirmishes than any regular action. They are armed, some with short rifle-guns, and others with bows and arrows.

"The artillery is, at present, extremely well served; and General Ogilvy tells me that he never saw any nation go better to war, with their cannons and mortars, than the Russians did last year at Warsaw. They have new-cast one hundred brass pieces of cannon of several calibres, with several mortars, and great quantities of bombs, grenades, powder, and other ammunition, whereof here is plenty enough, several mines of very good iron having been found of late years, and Circassia furnishes more saltpetre than what they have occasion for. They have also begun to make muskets and pistols, having procured some gunsmiths from the Elector Palatine's country of Berg, who have already prepared arms for several regiments.

"The maintaining all these forces does not cost the Czar above two-thirds of what other European princes must pay for the same number, since the Russians, who have estates, are obliged to serve at their own charges, or for a very inconsiderable salary. So the only expense is foreign officers and common foot-soldiers.

"When the Czar is with his army, he has not hitherto appeared as General, but only as Captain of the Bombardiers, and acts according to that post; and his son, the young Prince, is a cadet in the Preobrasenki

guard, which they probably do with a design of obliging the first nobility to follow their example, and breed themselves up to a knowledge of military affairs, whereas formerly, it seems, they thought they were born generals, as well as lords and princes."

But, however commendable may have been Peter's plan of beginning in a subordinate grade, he never appears to have acquired in any high degree the talent of a great General; and any success he obtained in war he owed more to the blunders, or rather the madness, of his celebrated adversary Charles, than to his own strategy: and yet we, who have the advantage of the experience of later events, may perhaps be allowed to doubt whether Charles's quitting the road to Moscow and marching southward towards the Ukraine was so great a fault as has been represented. The importance of the support of such an ally as Mazeppa, the Governor of the Ukraine, in Russia, through a Russian winter, and such a winter too as that of 1709, the events of the winter of 1812 have now enabled us to understand. And in fact it is most curious to find, as we now do, from the dispatches of the English Ambassador at the Court of Russia, that what Charles did was the very thing that those in possession of the best knowledge of the country and its resources considered as the very best thing for him to do.

According to Voltaire's description, the Ukraine, situated between little Tartary, Poland, and Muscovy, extended about a hundred leagues from north to south, and about as much from east to west. It was divided

into two almost equal parts by the Borysthenes (the Dnieper), which traversed it from north-west to south-east. The most northern part of the Ukraine was cultivated and rich. The most southern, situated under the 48th degree of north latitude, Voltaire describes as one of the most fertile, and at the same time most desert countries in the world. The badness of the government there rendered of no avail the blessings which nature had bestowed on man. This country, which, till the time of Peter the Great, was a constant source of quarrels between Russia and Poland, constitutes the greater part of Little Russia, that is, the four governments of Kiew, Podalia, Pultawa, and Slobodsk Ukraine. It is remarkable for its rich pastures, and a fine breed of horses and horned cattle. The Ukraine had always aspired to be free; but being surrounded by Muscovy, by the territories of the Grand Signior and of Poland, it was compelled to seek a protector, and consequently a master, in one of these three states. It put itself first under the protection of Poland, which treated it too much as a subject. It then gave itself to the Muscovite, who governed it like a slave as far as he could. At first the inhabitants of the Ukraine enjoyed the privilege of electing a Prince under the name of General; but they were soon deprived of this privilege, and their General was named by the Court of Moscow. The person who then filled this post was Mazeppa, whose strange history is so well known from the graphic prose of Voltaire, and still more graphic verse of Byron, that we need not

dwell upon it here. But it may interest the reader to compare with those celebrated pictures the sketch of Mazeppa given in the dispatches of the English Ambassador. In a dispatch of the 21st of November, 1708, Whitworth writes: "Mazeppa is near seventy years old, was extremely considered and relied on by the Czar, has no child but a nephew, and has heaped up vast sums of money in that wealthy province, where he governed so long with little less authority than a sovereign prince, so that I cannot learn what disgust or expectation may have drawn him into new councils and actions, in such an advanced and decrepit age." On the 28th November the Ambassador continues: "Some days before Mazeppa went over, he gave himself out to be very sick and to despair of his recovery, at which the Court was very much concerned, and at his instance took measures to elect a new General in his presence, for which purpose Count Golofdin only expected the Czar's orders to repair thither. In the meantime, Prince Mentschikof, marching on that side with a body of horse, resolved to visit and dine with the General, taking only with him a few gentlemen and some of his guards. But when Mentschikof arrived at Bathurin, Mazeppa's castle, he found it closed and the hetman fled. The treachery was manifested, and the castle taken by storm."

On the 26th and 27th of June,[7] 1709, was fought,

[7] In the date we follow the statement of Whitworth, which he gives from the accounts of eye-witnesses. Voltaire, who insists somewhat on the care he had taken to obtain accurate information for his Life of Charles XII., says the 8th of July. The difference between the old and new style will account

near Pultawa, a town on a little hill by the river Worskla, and one of the most considerable in the Ukraine, that memorable battle in which fortune, after nine years of victory, left the Swedish madman, and passed over to the Muscovite, whose dynasty was then safe for another century, till a power greater than Peter the Great—that of the elements—fire and frost, should overwhelm a far mightier host than that of the Swedes, and baffle a far more illustrious captain than Charles the Twelfth. It is remarkable, however, that Charles amid all his mad improvidence in respect to provisions, artillery, and even ammunition, had had the prudence to provide against the terrible enemy that destroyed Napoleon. Had Napoleon, like Charles, had a Mazeppa to shelter and feed his army in the Ukraine through the winter, in order that he might conquer Moscow in the following spring, who knows what might now be the fate of Europe? One result of Charles's folly and madness was that Russia became a European power, acquired a territory in the Baltic, Wiborg, Ingria, Carelia, Esthonia, and Livonia, founded Petersburg, and became thenceforward the great northern power in place of Sweden. This result necessarily led to other results of a similar kind, and it is no exaggeration to say that Russia has gone on ever since making accessions of territory in the shape of large encroachments upon her neighbours. The conduct of another remark-

for this; and perhaps, also, for the date of the battle being stated in the Penny Cyclopædia (article, Peter the Great) to have been the 15th of June, in this last case the eleven days being deducted instead of added. Whitworth's account of the battle is somewhat different from Voltaire's.

able man, who, though his madness had more of a reasoning show, proved himself, at least as regarded his mode of dealing with Russia, as much a madman as the Swede, carried forward to an unparalleled extent that system of aggrandisement which the capacity of Peter I. and the incapacity of Charles XII. had commenced. The result of this alliance with Russia against England and Sweden in 1808 was the acquisition by Russia of all Finland, East Bothnia, and Aland. The result of his expedition against Russia in 1812 was the annexation to the crown of Russia of Warsaw, and a large territory under the name of the kingdom of Poland. So that the military power and political influence of Russia are now almost paramount on the Continent, with two formidable fleets in the Baltic and Black Seas, a standing army of some 800,000, and a diplomatic body, which in numbers and organisation far exceeds that of any other nation.

The code of morals, at least among princes in the early part of the last century, was a somewhat strange one. We are apt to be shocked now-a-days at such things as Lord Hervey's revelations of the court of George II. Yet the court of George II. was almost puritan as compared with those of several contemporary or nearly contemporary courts. It would probably be difficult to match at any period of the world's history three such princes ruling at the same or very nearly the same time, as the Regent Orleans, Augustus II. of Poland, and the Czar, Peter I. or the Great as he has been called. In addition to the

ordinary run of license, which is to be looked for as the average produce of unbounded command of the services and unquestioned dominion over the wills of others, the individuals above named have been accused on no slight authorities—on such authority as the correspondence of ambassadors—of vices "from which history averts her eyes, and which even satire blushes to name."

The irregularities of the Empresses who succeeded Peter I. are well known. But, then, in judging of them, it is but fair to take the standard of morals of that time into account. The King of Prussia, in summing up the virtues of the Empress Anne, concludes, "*voluptueuse sans désordre*,"—by which we believe he meant a degree of order that would hardly be considered suitable to the character of a reputable matron anywhere in these days.

When James Keith entered the Russian service, the Count de Munnich, who had passed from the service of Saxony into that of Peter I., was at the head of the Russian army. "He was," says Frederic the Great, in his *Historie de Mon Temps*, "the Prince Eugene of the Muscovites; he had the virtues and the vices of great generals; able, enterprising, successful, but haughty, ambitious, and sometimes too despotic, and sacrificing the lives of his soldiers to his reputation. Lascy, Keith, Lowendahl, and other able generals were formed in his school. The government then kept up 10,000 guards, 100 battalions amounting to 60,000 men, 20,000 dragoons, 2000 cuirassiers, making in all 92,000

regular troops ; 30,000 militia, and as many Cossacks, Tartars, and Calmucks as they chose to assemble ; so that this power might, without extraordinary efforts, bring 170,000 men into the field. The Russian fleet was then reckoned at 12 ships of the line, 26 ships of an inferior order, and 40 galleys. The revenues of the empire amounted to 14 or 15,000,000 crowns. The sum appears moderate when compared to the immense extent of that empire, but everything there is very cheap. The subsistence of the soldier does not cost half what it does in the other European states. The Russian soldier only receives eight roubles yearly, and rations, which are purchased at a very low price ; these rations give occasion to those enormous equipages which they drag after their armies. In the campaign which Marshal Munnich made, in the year 1737 against the Turks, there were reckoned in his army as many waggons as fighting-men." So that at that time the baggage of the Russian army might seem to be as unwieldy, as much in the nature of *impedimenta*, as, though from a different cause, the baggage of our Indian army is at the present day.

It would be impossible within moderate limits, even if we were possessed of the means, to follow James Keith, step by step, through the "battles, sieges, fortunes" of the next twenty years. Through many a strange and turbulent scene of wild warfare, of barbaric pomp, of perils by land, of perils by sea, in Russia, in Germany, in Sweden, in Poland, in Tartary, in Turkey, in the Ukraine, on the Baltic, on the Black

Sea, we see the polished and chivalrous soldier of fortune surrounded by barbarians and semi-barbarians, whom he led or conquered, and did as much to humanise as one man could do in the face of so many obstacles. It was a Herculean labour, enough to wear out even that soul of fire and that frame of adamant; yet the clear spirit did not grow dim, the strong heart fainted not under it, and he felt that, for him too, there waited at last the rest and quiet of the grave. In one of his letters to Mitchell, written a few months before his death, he alludes to what he has gone through in his strange and eventful life, to his present condition—one of great bodily suffering ill-suited to the unparalleled fatigues he had to endure, and to his hope of a speedy release by death, in a tone of calm, almost cheerful philosophical reflection, which, ungot up for the occasion or the public as it is, we should look for in vain in any of the philosophers by profession. He says in a letter, dated Dresden, the 10th February, 1758: "My health is, I think, rather worse than better; any change will be agreeable to me, for it is much better not live, than live in the manner I do. After sixty years' experience my curiosity as to life ought to be satisfyed, and it really is so. I have seen most of the vicissitudes and phenomenes that happen in this world, and should I live a hundred years more, I shall only see the repetition of the same thing. I'me not sorry to see a pupet-show once, but to be obliged to see it every day would not be tolerable. Adieu dear Mr. Mitchell;

depend on it there is not one in the world esteems you more than I."

It has been somewhere stated in print, though we do not know if on any good authority, that the Empress Elizabeth wished to marry James Keith, and that he declined the honour, which was likely enough from the character of the man. His autobiography stops in 1734, long before the accession of Elizabeth. But there is a passage, under the date of 1730, which would certainly encourage no such inference with regard to her predecessor, the Empress Anne. "Two days after, he (Count Levenvolder) presented me to the Empress, who declared me Lieutenant-Collonel of her guards. All Mosco was as surprised as I was myself, and, as the emploiement is looked on as one of the greatest trust in the empire, and that the officers of the guards are regarded as domesticks of the Soveraign, I received hundreds of visits from people I had never seen nor heard of in my life, and who imagined that certainly I must be in great favour, in which they were prodigiously deceived."

The following strange passage in James Keith's eventful life has been related on good authority. On the termination of one of the wars between the Russians and the Turks, the commissioners to treat of a peace were Marshal (then General) Keith and the Turkish Grand Vizier. These two personages met with the interpreters of the Russ and Turkish between them. When all was concluded, they arose to separate; the Marshal made his bow with his hat in his hand, and

the Vizier his salam, with turban on his head. But when these ceremonies of taking leave were over, the Vizier turned suddenly, and, coming up to Keith, took him freely by the hand, and in the broadest Scotch dialect, declared warmly that "It made him unco happy, now he was sae far frae hame, to meet a countryman in his exalted station." Keith stared with astonishment, and, in answer to his exclamation of surprise, the Vizier gave this explanation, "My father," said he, "was bellman of Kirkaldy, in Fife, and I remember to have seen you, sir, and your brother, occasionally passing."

At the siege of Oczakow Keith was very dangerously wounded. On hearing of this, his brother came from Spain to his assistance, and arrived in time to prevent the loss of a limb, upon the amputation of which the surgeons were deliberating at the moment of his arrival. He accompanied his brother to the waters of Barege, and then returned to Spain. James Keith's wounds prevented his serving during the remainder of that war. Finding his health in a very shattered state, he went to France in hopes of getting it there re-established. He had orders, as soon as his strength permitted, to repair to England in a public character, to manage some affairs of great moment. He arrived in London in February, 1740, and, on the 15th of that month, was presented to his Majesty, who received him very graciously. On his part he declared that he acknowledged George II. for his lawful king. On the 14th of May he had his audience of leave. During these transactions the peace

was concluded between Russia and the Porte. The Empress made considerable presents to all the great officers who distinguished themselves during the war, and Keith, though absent, was not forgotten. He received a gold-hilted sword, valued at 6000 roubles (1500*l.* sterling), and in the month of March he was made Governor of the Ukraine. Having left London on the 18th of May, he went directly to Petersburg; and thence, in July, he repaired to the province committed to his government. On the death of the Empress Anne, on the 28th of October, 1740, the administration of affairs fell wholly into the hands of Biron, and none made any difficulty to acknowledge his authority, except James Keith, Governor of the Ukraine, and Donduc-Ombo, Khan of the Calmuck Tartars. The Governor of the Ukraine, greatly beloved by a numerous people, who, under the mildness of his administration, enjoyed a degree of security and happiness till then unknown to them, could not easily have been reduced by force. The authority of Biron, however, only lasted twenty-two days, at the end of which time the mother of the young Emperor took the administration of affairs into her own hands. This resolution confirmed Keith in his office. In little more than a year, a new revolution took place, and Elizabeth, daughter of Peter the Great, ascended the throne on the 25th of November, 1741, N.S. It would seem that about the end of the year 1742, the foreigners of chief note in the Russian service were so much discontented with their situation as to think themselves obliged to

ask for their dismission. Keith was of this number, and must have had very strong reasons for this step, as he had hitherto been treated with very distinguished regard; and as the war was not then brought to a conclusion, the Empress was uneasy at the thoughts of losing him, and was at pains to engage him to continue, offering him the order of St. Andrew, and the command-in-chief against the Persians. Keith declined that command, but accepted the order, with proper acknowledgments, and consented to remain in the Russian service. His example had such influence on the other foreign generals, that they followed the same course.

In 1743 the Russians determined to make a descent on Sweden. Lascy, Lewaschew, and Keith had the command of the forces on board of the fleet. A very bloody engagement took place between Keith's squadron and that of the Swedes, commanded by Rayalin. Keith had planted a battery ashore, which greatly annoyed the Swedish ships. The action continued till the night was far advanced, and at last the Swedish squadron was obliged to give way. When peace was settled in June of the same year, Denmark, appearing to be dissatisfied and making great preparations for war, the King of Sweden demanded succours from Russia. Elizabeth granted troops and gave the command to Keith, who on that occasion acted in a double capacity, as Commander-in-Chief of the Russian forces, and as Minister Plenipotentiary for Russia at the Court of Sweden. He acquitted himself in each of these characters to the entire satisfaction of both Courts. In

1745 Keith was declared Commander-in-Chief of the troops assembled by order of the Empress in Lithuania and Courland. In July, 1746, Elizabeth, with all her Court, made a progress of great state into Livonia, and reviewed at Narva a body of her troops, with Keith at their head. In 1747 Keith took a resolution to quit the Russian service. It has been erroneously stated that one reason for this determination was, that he believed Russia to be likely to enjoy peace for many years to come.

The true reason of James Keith's leaving the Russian service appears from a letter to his brother, dated Potsdam, 28th October, 1747, and published by Lord Dover in his Life of Frederic the Second, from a collection of MS. letters relating to the Keith family in the possession of the Honourable Admiral Fleming. Keith says, that on Bestoucheff, the Russian Chancellor, refusing his brother permission to live in Russia, he resolved absolutely to quit the Russian service; and he gives an account of much ill-treatment he had met with from the malice of Bestoucheff. What were the grounds of the ill-will borne to him by Bestoucheff, one of the most corrupt and unprincipled ministers of a corrupt and profligate government,[8]—a government

[8] Sir C. H. Williams, the English Ambassador at the Court of Russia, in a letter to Mitchell, dated "St. Petersbourg, September 28th, N. S., 1756," says, "I write you this very secret letter, to beg you would inform the King of Prussia how far I have succeeded here with the Great Chancellor. I found him for the two or three first times inflexible, but the broader my hints grew about the sum, the more he yielded." Again, in a letter to the Earl of Holdernesse, dated "St. Petersbourg, Thursday, 9th December, 1756," he says, "I am well informed that the remittances that have been sent here from Vienna, and which amount to one million of florins, were sent here one half in ducats by sea from Amsterdam, and one half in bills of exchange from

in which some of the worst vices of Asiatic barbarism and European civilisation met,—does not appear. In addition to the powerful enmity of Bestoucheff, Keith says that he had received proofs that he was indebted for particular ill-offices to Lord Hyndford, the British Minister at Berlin, whom Mitchell succeeded. Such was the gratitude of the Russian Government for all the services he had rendered them, for the toils and perils he had encountered, for the wounds he had received in their service, that he, though not a man given to groundless apprehensions, saw reason for suspecting his enemies of the worst designs against his liberty, if not his life. But having, as he says, no mind to make the journey to Siberia, and having with considerable difficulty obtained his *démission* and passport, he resolved to prevent them. Finding at Riga an English ship ready to sail, he took his passage on board for England, being afraid to travel by land for fear of being arrested in Courland. He quitted his ship at the Sound, and at Copenhagen overtures were made to him by the Duke of Sonderbourg of entering into the service of Denmark. But as soon as he got on shore in Denmark, he wrote a letter to the King of Prussia, offering him his service, and soon after set out for Hamburg, where he received a very gracious answer, on which he went straight to Berlin, where,

Mr. Pells, of that place." And, in another letter, the reference to which has, at present, escaped me, he describes the members of her Imperial Majesty's Council, gravely seated round the Council table, all (except, I think, the Great Duchess, afterwards the Empress Catherine) with their bribes in their pockets.

two days after his arrival, the King declared him Field-Marshal of his army.

The following passage presents a touching picture of the attachment of the two brothers: "Baron Maidefelt had already told me that I was to have 8000 crowns a year,[9] with which I can live easier here than with twelve in Russia, where our immense equipages eat up all our income, and I find I have really more than for one; therefore, consider what a pleasure it would be to me to share it with my dearest brother. I know it would not be in the least disagreeable to the King, and even quite the contrary; but in some posts, Compte Rothembourg, who is almost as impatient to see you as I am, will write to you more fully on this subject." He concludes with a brief sketch of Frederic from his first impressions: "I have now the honour, and which is still more the pleasure, of being with the King at Potsdam, where he ordered me to come two days after he declared me Field-Marshal, where I have the honour to dine and sup with him almost every day. He has more wit than I have wit to tell you; speaks solidly and knowingly on all kind of subjects; and I am much mistaken if, with the experience of four campaigns, he is not the best officer of his army. He has several persons with whom he lives in almost the familiarity of a friend, but no favourite; and has a natural politeness for every body who is about him. For one who has

[9] In Oct., 1749, the King appointed him Governor of Berlin, and gave him the order of the Black Eagle. His appointments were then fixed at 12,000 crowns (2400*l.* sterling).

been four days about his person, you will say I pretend to know a great deal of his character, but what I tell you, you may depend upon: with more time I shall know as much of him as he will let me know; and all his ministry knows no more. Adieu, my dearest brother. Every week you shall have a letter from me, but not so long as this." This is the rose-coloured view, but the picture has another aspect, which has been given in preceding pages.

A great living writer has truly said of these two brothers, that they were "driven by civil dissension from the country to which, under happier circumstances, their talents and virtues might have been a source of strength and glory." We have never been able to contemplate the career of Marshal Keith without something of a mournful feeling, particularly since we have read some of his letters written shortly before his death, so full of strong good sense, of quiet heroism, of modesty, of humanity, of honourable sentiments, and of cheerfulness in the midst of toil, of peril and most acute bodily suffering. We see a man endowed with great strength of mind and body, with courage of the truest metal, with a sense of honour and love of truth worthy of Bayard, with the most polished manners, with the greatest humanity of disposition, generosity, and kindliness of heart, and that after a life passed amid scenes such as, when acting upon other materials, were fitted to produce, and produced, such men as Dalziel, Kirke, and Claverhouse. Yet in some sense those gifts were bestowed in vain, for to this man there was no field

open for the full exercise of his genius and valour. Though the proposition has doubtless been often appropriated by aspiring mediocrity, yet in this case, considering the whole career of the man, what he achieved amid a life of exile and under an adverse star, his heroic death, and his already almost forgotten name, we are tempted to say, "The world knows nothing of its greatest men."

If to the exercise of genius in all departments certain favourable circumstances are necessary, in no department are they more so than in military affairs :—and we believe that scarcely a single example could be named, where two commanders have, at the same time, on the same side, attained first-rate distinction. One man out of several, who at one time stand nearly or altogether on the same level, by some slight superiority, —sometimes, no doubt, both of genius and fortune, but sometimes only of fortune,[1]—takes the lead, and by-and-by becomes the sole object of regard, until, at last, every feature of his face and every article of his dress becomes historical; while than he, if not ten thousand, at least ten perhaps, "more gloriously endowed," have fallen upon the course, leaving scarce the wreck of a name. If this observation applies, at least in a great degree, where the generals are the servants of a government, it

[1] Marshal Keith, in his Memoir, attributes the failure of a certain commander to his not considering how much in a battle is due to fortune, and boldly trusting somewhat to it accordingly; and the great Frederic told Sir Andrew Mitchell, after one of his great victories, that he owed it to the accident of his having come upon the field at the very moment he did,—that if he had been a quarter of an hour later, or a quarter of an hour earlier, the event would not have happened.

applies with double force where one of the generals, besides being a military genius of the first order, is the monarch,—the sovereign as well as the general. This was the case here. By changing the Russian service for the Prussian, James Keith left a service where he might have commanded in chief armies which, well disciplined and ably led, would have been the most formidable in Europe, for the service of a king who was himself the greatest soldier of his age, and one of the greatest of any age. He obtained indeed the pleasure and advantage of being near the beloved brother to whom he was bound by so many ties,—by the recollections of early youth, of perils encountered, of hardships and misfortunes endured together, of home, kindred, and country, which they never would see again. Yet, with this exception, it may be doubted whether James Keith was a gainer by the exchange.

With the Seven Years' War commenced the greatest military operations in which Keith was engaged. In the battle of Lowositz,[2] where he commanded under the King, he greatly distinguished himself. After the battle of Prague, in which Marshal Keith was not engaged, Prince Charles of Lorraine, the brother of the Emperor Francis, threw himself into Prague with about forty-eight thousand men. Frederic proceeded to

[2] In his Journal, printed in a preceding chapter, Mitchell mentions that Marshal Keith gave him one day the *true* account of this battle, but he does not state it. It, no doubt, is meant that the account given by Keith to Mitchell differed considerably from Frederic's account of the matter. Probably Labienus would have given an account of some of the battles of the Gallic War a good deal different from Cæsar's.

blockade Prague on both sides of the river; and the two divisions, into which the army was thus separated, were commanded by himself and Marshal Keith. On the night of the 23rd May (1757) Prince Charles made a sortie at the head of 12,000 men, on the side where Keith commanded. He was repulsed with the loss of 1000 killed and wounded. Viewed in a certain light, hard indeed seems the fate of the human race. Of the many sanguinary wars which, within the last two or three centuries, have desolated Europe, by far the greater part have been undertaken for the aggrandisement, the quarrels, or the caprices of a few families. It would be difficult to name any that have not this character, if we except the thirty years' war, the English parliamentary war, and the French revolutionary war. In all these (though in the English war the least) great atrocities were committed. But then it may be said that they were committed for some other end than the mere aggrandisement of a single tyrant and his family: though that, in a certain sense, can hardly be admitted absolutely. This Seven Years' War was clearly the consequence of Frederic's aggression on Silesia 15 years before: and yet Frederic, particularly in some of his more private letters to Mitchell, talks of the liberties of Europe and of his hatred of tyranny as heroically as Robespierre did of his conscience and the cause of humanity: and yet they might both at the time fancy themselves sincere and in earnest. But Marshal Keith, according to all concurring testimony, was really a humane man: and yet see what he, the

most humane of men, was driven by his hard fate, as a soldier of fortune, to bear a part in, and judge whether war, which of necessity leads such a man in the performance of his duty to do such things, should be lightly undertaken. The Prussians bombarded Prague for several days. The town was set on fire in various places with shells and red-hot balls. Great numbers of the inhabitants perished, burnt to death, killed by the shells, buried beneath the ruins of their houses. The Prussians, in their entrenchments, could plainly hear during the night the groans and lamentations of the unhappy sufferers. The famine also produced pestilence. The inhabitants implored the Governor to open the gates to the Prussians; but he drove out of the town 12,000 prisoners, the least useful for its defence, who were again forced back by the Prussian troops. A fact of recent occurrence, which we state on good authority, may give an idea of the sufferings of the population generally in a war in which Cossacks, Calmucks, and Croats were actors; as it is not likely they were more humanised *then* than *now*. Not many months ago an officer in a Croat regiment saw one of his men take a child, who was not moving so fast as he thought proper out of the way, upon his pike and throw it to the side of the road. The officer, indeed, drew out a pistol, and shot the savage dead upon the spot. But we may judge of the fate of a population subjected to the tender mercies of such invaders, who are not always under the eye or control of their officers.

And yet, paradoxical as it may appear, this profession,

which is made the instrument of such atrocities, has been fruitful of characters whose pure though unrecorded generosity deserves to outlast the monuments of ostentatious munificence and selfish ambition. Times out of number, while sleek civilians have stood aloof, rough soldiers have declared, and acted up to the letter of their declaration, that while they had a guinea in the world, their friend's or brother's orphan child should have half of it. I have in my possession, and I am not singular in this, documents of this nature from men scarred with wounds, suffering from hard service, pestilential climates, the villany of prize agents, harassed by incessant duties and toils, which promised to end in sudden and violent death. Yet, amid all this, these men alone have had time to remember the forgotten, and to send a portion of their slender store to relieve the necessities of those who had none to help them. To this class of soldiers belonged Marshal Keith. He was always poor, for what he got he gave to whomsoever he was convinced really needed it. It is not improbable, too, that, like his friend Mitchell and many other indulgent masters, he was cheated to some extent by his servants; and, as a just and humane man, he could not make war so profitable a business as a hard, unscrupulous man can do. Upon his death, his brother says, in one of his letters:— "Mon frère m'a laissé un bel héritage! Il venoit de mettre à contribution toute la Bohême, à la tête d'une grande armée; et je n'ai trouvé que 70 ducats dans sa bourse." Among Mitchell's papers are some inter-

esting details of one of the many cases exhibiting this part of the Marshal's character. There was an orphan boy, descended from a branch of the Keith family, left destitute alike of near relatives as of property. This child the Marshal was educating for his own profession. Upon the Marshal's death at the battle of Hochkirch, the boy was again left doubly fatherless. Sir Andrew Mitchell then took the place of his departed friend. He paid for the finishing of the young gentleman's military education, (some of the bills are still among his papers,) and, exerting all his interest, obtained for him a commission in the British service, an ensigncy in the first regiment of Guards; George II., who knew how to appreciate such a soldier as Marshal Keith, specially interesting himself in the matter.

Frederic the Second, in his History of the Seven Years' War, mentions among the principal advantages on his side at the commencement of the war, his having detached Marshal Keith from the service of Russia to his own. When Mitchell, in 1756, went as British Minister to the Court of Frederic, he found the two Keiths both resident there. They had previously several grounds of acquaintance, — the same native country, with some friends and connections in common, and the contiguity of part of Mitchell's estates in Aberdeenshire to some part of the extensive estates of the Keith family. But a great congeniality of character, particularly a love of plain dealing, with a corresponding abhorrence and contempt of treachery and falsehood, accompanied by good sense, humanity, and courage,

soon, notwithstanding that the one, at least in early youth, had been a Jacobite, and the other had always been a staunch Whig, established a firm friendship between the Prussian Field-Marshal and the British Ambassador. Mitchell was, we believe, the first British Ambassador who accompanied an army in the field; at least Lord Holdernesse, in one of his letters to Mitchell, says he could find no precedent for the occasion in his office. In this novel and perilous service it was of course his duty to attend the person of the King; but when anything prevented that, he generally marched with Marshal Keith's division of the army. Neither Marshal Keith nor Mitchell were in the fatal battle of Kolin, Mitchell being then with the part of the army which Marshal Keith commanded at the siege of Prague. After the fearful defeat and carnage of the Prussians at Kolin, Marshal Keith had the very arduous duty of effecting a retreat from before Prague, which contained an Austrian army of upwards of 40,000 men, in addition to the numerous and victorious army under Marshal Daun at Kolin. This retreat Keith conducted with such consummate skill, that it is justly considered one of his greatest exploits. Mitchell had separated from him immediately after the battle of Kolin, and the Marshal, in a letter to his friend, gives a brief narrative of his successful retreat. As this letter has never been published, we give it here from the original MS.

DEAR SIR,

I 'me now arrived in your neighbourhood, where I intend to remain till such time as I have further orders from the King how to proceed in our future operations. Prince Charles gave us pretty hott worck on our decamping from Prague, and might, in my opinion, have done much more if he had attacked Schmettaw with more vigour ; he certainly was six times his number. Marshal Broun was with him, and yet neither of them would venture to charge boldly, but fired at him at a distance, and emploied their cannon more than their troops. Schmettaw has certainly gained a great deal of honour. He retired step by step, covered the whole march of the Colones, and kept them in respect at least three hours from the beginning of the action at the redoutes, till he arrived at the descent of the mountain under the victoria, where the wholle army united. We have had 4 or 500 men killed or wounded, but marched off in the middle of the day, drums beating and colours flying, without having lost any kind of thing but one regimental cannon, whose carriage and wheels were broke to pieces by the enemy's shot.

I send you some letters which I received yesterday, and when you will eat a camp dinner, you shall at least have hearty wellcome from him who will ever remain,

Dear Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

JAMES KEITH.

Camp of Budin, June the 23*rd*, 1757.

The following letters from Field-Marshal Keith to Mitchell have never before been published, and contain some details, by one of the actors, of the events of those latter months of 1757, with which, for the greatness of the exploits, it has been doubted whether any equal portion of the life of Hannibal, of Cæsar, or of Napoleon, will bear a comparison.

Field-Marshal Keith to Mr. Mitchell.

Dear Sir,

I hope you will be content both with the commandant and the garrison which I have sent you. I desired him to put you in mind of your promise to dine with us in our camp, but as he assured me that he loved your company too much to part with you, I 'me afraid he will execute my commission very ill; but if you have a mind to come, he will furnish you with ane escorte that will be sufficient to bring you in safety to dinner with me, and conduct you back as safely to supper with him.

I 'me extreamly concerned for the misfortune of poor Manstein; his impatience is the cause of it, but this is betwixt ourselves. Adieu, dear Sir.

Camp of Budin, June the 24th.

Bernstetel, August the 21st.

DEAR SIR,

Ever since I joined the King's army, I have enquired every day if any courrier was to be dispatched to Dresden; without having been so lucky as yet to find one opportunity of writing to you, and what I write at present is only that it may be ready in case any one is sent off. The 15th, I join'd the King here in his march towards the enemy, and the same evening we came in sight of their camp, and advanced within short cannon-shot of them. How soon they saw us appear they struck their tents and drew up in battle at the head of their camp. The King formed his army over against, and immediately went to reconoitre the ground betwixt the two army's, but cou'd not find any passage where it was possible to attack them, and as it was then late he defered a more exact examination of their situation till next morning, when we were in hopes that we might find some place weak enough to give us ane opportunity of attempting something. The two army's lay all night under arms, and by daybreak in the morning the King return'd to examine with the utmost exactness the whole ground. He found them encamped with their right at the river Neisse, the rest of their army extended along a height to a mountain covered with wood, by which their left was protected. Before their whole front, at the foot of the hill on which they were drawn, ran a small brook, but which was only passable in three different places, and that for not

more than four or five men a front. It 's true near their left there was ane opening where two or three batalions might have marched a front; but behind it they had placed three lignes of infantrie, and on the hill, which flanked it within musket-shot, a body of three or four thousand foot, and 40 or 50 pieces of cannon, so that by these precautions they had render'd it the strongest part of their camp. In a word everybody saw that Prince Charles was resolved not to fight, and that the dificulty's were unsurmountable to force him to it. The King, however, to leave nothing untry'd that might force him to a battle, sent General Winterfeld, with a part of the army, to the other side of the Neisse by the bridge of Hirschfeld, to try if he could not take him in the flanck; but that being likewise found impossible, after lying four days before him, we returned yesterday to our camp at Bernstetle without being followed by anybody but some hussars and pandours who wanted to steal some bagage, in which they have not succeeded, for we did not lose a single pack-horse. The Austrians give themselves out for 130m men. If they are so, I think they might have ventured a battle; the King surely gave them all the oportunity's possible; for the day we returned, after having retired about 2000 yards, he drew up in battle and remained so at least ane hour, to see if the enemy wou'd follow him; but all in vain, not a man stirred out of their camp. It 's true, in the whole, our expedition has not had the effect we intended, but at least we have let the world see that this great victorious

army dares not risk a battle with us on equal terms. Adieu, dear Mr. Mitchell.

SIR,

Tho' I am only at four miles' distance from you, it's hardly possible for me to get a letter convey'd to you, the roads are so pester'd with husars and pandours; they had the impudence to loge themselves yesterday in a village not above a quarter of a mile from our camp; however, I believe I have cured them of that for the future, for our pandours surprised them last night, killed about 20, and took three officers and 31 private husars prisoners. The paisans here are mostly on our side, and therfore we have much better intelligence than in Bohemia, which will make small party's dangerous for them. The position of the army's is still the same; the enemy near Zittau; and this night we heard them fire three salves, each of 52 cannon, I suppose for their victory over the Duke of Cumberland. The King is still at Weissenberg, and the Duke of Bevern at Bautzen; and I here sometimes with the feavor, always with the gravell, which in spight of Kothenius's remedy does not a bitt diminish. It's true I can sit on horseback, but I find plainly that when the rest of the body suffers too much, the head grows weak. I can easily perceive myself, that the orders I give are neither so clear nor distinct as formerly, and that I often forget those I have given. What miserable machines are we when the least disordre in the blood

confounds and weakens so the sowle? When you are so good as to write to me, send your letter to Col. Finck, who will know when there offers any occasion of forwarding it to me, who, sick or well, will always be, with the greatest regard and friendship,

Dear Sir,

Your most humble and most

obedient servant,

JAMES KEITH.

From the camp near Bishofswerda.

DEAR SIR,

I 'm much obliged to you for the gazettes you was so good as to send me ; but the news of your own health wou'd have been very acceptable to me. Grant writes me that he is on the point of going to England, so I suppose him already gone. I shou'd be glad likewise to know how Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick's affaire goes, and if you think that his powers will be ample enough to resist the roguery of Ministerium.[3] If they are not, I own to you sincerly, I despaire of any good from that quarter. Your news likewise from the other side of the Elbe wou'd be very agreable to me, as I know nothing of Marschal's mouvments, nor what is doing in Silesia. While you stay at Leipsig I shall let you know as frequently as I can what is a-doing in my parts, and I hope you will be so good as to inform me of what passes near you, but, above all things, news

[3] The Hanoverian Ministry.

of your own health, in which no body takes a greater concern than,

Dear Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

JAMES KEITH.

Mersbourg, November the 12, 1757.

DEAR SIR,

In spight of the villany of Ministerium,[4] I hope all things will go well, and I am extreamly glad to find you are so well pleased with Count Schulembourg. It is absolutely necessary that the Prince of Brunswick have some of the generals in whom he can entirely confide, and who may promote and engage the others to forward the measures which he may take. This should be Count Schulembourg's great object, and this I think you should recomend to him with the greatest earnestness. You may depend on it, the want of unanimity amongst the French generals was the principal cause of their scandalous defeat, and will be always the certain ruine of every army where it is found. How soon the Prince arrives and begins to act, I may perhaps give a shrewd guesse of his success, and shall give you my sentiments on it with all the freedom that friendship only can excuse. The suite of our last batle seems every day more considerable. Never was there such ane absolute dispersion of ane army. Some of them are already at Gutingen, others at Northausen, their cavalry at

[4] This means the Hanoverian Ministry.

Mulhausen ; the army of the empire is passed Saalfeld, directing their march to Franconia ; the Queen of Hungary's troops, and Loudon, with his pandours, is gone to Egra ; in a word, to follow them, you must take the general mappe of Germany, otherwise you will never find where they are. The whollc country is full of their arms ; a musquet was ordinarily sold for six or eight gros, sometimes for a loaf of bread, for the poor devils were dying of hunger, which wou'd certainly have happen'd to us if the King had taken the resolution to abandon Silesia, and to have acted on this side ; act he cou'd not, because of his magazines ; he might have remained unactive near Magdebourg, that is all he cou'd have done, for the French have taken away all the horses and carts with which he could have advanced his magazines, in case of marches. On all this frontier he cou'd neither have lived nor followed the enemy, for I cannot even subsist with the few troops I have with me. For my own part I see nothing he could do but what he has done. Perhaps he may not succeed, but certainly he acts as every general wou'd do in his case. I do not yet believe that the Austrians will take Schweinitz. It 's true I do not know the fortifications, but Maj.-Gen. Seers, who fortify'd it, commands in it, and the garrison must be at least 5000 men, besides its ane odd time of year to open trenches. If they have two or three days hard frost I defy them to work in the ground. They tell me besides, that their bombs are all directed against the houses of the town, which, if it be true, is a plain signe that their intention is to ruine the

magazin, not to take the place, for if they destroy the houses, where will their garrison live during the winter if they should take it? In the sieges I have seen, the gunners were never allowed to fire at the houses, and I have already given you the reason. I begin my march to-morrow, and shall be at Chemnitz the 20th. If you cou'd send me there either Dutch or Leipsig gazettes I shou'd be much obliged to you, for I shall soon lose sight of the rest of the world for some time, and it will be only by Chemnitz that I can have the hapiness to hear of my friends. I flatter myself you allow me to place you in the number, certainly nobody is more yours than

Your most humble,

JAMES KEITH.

Naumbourg, the 16*th November*, 1757.

The Chasseur who delivers you this will join me to-morrow night at Zeitz; by him you may send me the gazettes, as well Dutch as of Leipsig.

MANY thanks to dear Mr. Mitchell for your letters and gazettes. This is the last you will receive from me out of Saxony. To-morrow I enter Bohemia, fully resolved to follow the example of the Maréchal Richelieu in the treatment he shows to the Electorate of Hanover. Of this you may positively assure the Ministers of that country, and they may comunicate it if they please to the Maréchal, that in case things are brought to such ane extremity, that I must use reprisals on the Queen

of Hungary's dominions, that Princess and all the univers may know with how much regret I act a part so contrary to my natural temper, and to the manner I have always made war. Many compliments I beg to General Sedlitz; assure him how overjoy'd I am to hear of the good state of his wound.

Yours,

JAMES KEITH.

Chemnitz, November the 22nd.

Pray be so good as to send the inclosed to London to be transmitted to Ireland.

DEAR SIR,

You made me extreamly happy on my arrival here by your letter, where you give me new proofs of your friendship, by the concern you was in on account of my expedition, which is now at ane end without the loss of a single man. After having visited all our old acquaintance at Leitmeritz, Budine, Velvaren, and even made new ones at Laun, Postelberg, and other places, the surprize of the people diverted me. They cou'd hardly believe their eyes that they saw Prussians, so little did they expect such a visit. The first day on the news arriving at Prague, the half of the inhabitants run out of the town, several swore they saw the whole army on the Weissenberg; you know what a formidable one it is: however, it has had all the success I pretended, for the fright was such at Prague,

when they knew that we had passed the Egra, that the garrison wou'd have followed the burgers if the Commandent had not shut the gates; yet you may be well assured I never designed to go ane inch farther than I went. It 's true if I cou'd have got five days sooner to Leitmeritz, the loss to the Queen of Hungary would have been at least five times more considerable, for the cloathing, arms, and amunition for the army in Silesia, set out only the 21st; all which I cou'd have destroy'd as easily as I have the magazin of meal, which was the only thing remain'd when we came. A parcell of rogues, a foot and a horseback, followed out of Bohemia, in hopes of doing me mischief in the defilés and woods, but General Meyer, who is the terror of all their rogues, prevented them.

A thousand thanks for your news and newspapers. I beg you wou'd continue to let me know what Prince Ferdinand does. Cou'd he not surprise the French who are in Harbourg? The least advantage on the beginning of a command wou'd encourage his own troops and discourage the enemy. Do you hear nothing of Lewald and the Swedes? By my reckning he should be already at Stetin, and if he loses a day he loses my good opinion; it 's true the loss is not great, but others may judge as I do, and then it is of consequence.

Yours unviolably.[5]

No news of Grant; he might be on his return by this time.

[5] The signature to several of these letters is omitted in the originals.

Dear Sir,

Many thanks for the letter I received by your chasseur. You need not doubt how happy I should think myself in the pleasure of seeing you, but I can neither quitte the frontier in the present circumstance, nor do I believe that you cou'd conveniently come here. Eight German miles is a long days journey in this season, and at present I doubte if you could absent yourself from the necessary correspondence; but in case at any time you should take such a heroick resolution, be as good as to let me know it a day or two befor. I see by the gazettes that Prince Ferdinand has already attacked Harbourg. I take it to be a bicoque, which cannot hold out long enough to give Richelieu time to assemble his army. In this case and if he attacks them with intrepidity, I'me persuaded he will succeed, and will give courage by it to his wholle army; but if he loses a moment, or loyters in the attack, I look on him as undone. Bombes, hot bullets, scaling ladders, everything expeditious should be employed to insult them. By this time you must know how he has acted, and by consequence what hopes we may have de ce levé de bouclier. I wish, with my soul, your Pomeranian news were true. If we had that hand free, it might be of good service both to us and our ally's, and in the end I believe it is the wisest thing the Swedes can do, for otherwise I see nothing can hinder us from taking our winter quarters in their country.

I am, sincerely,

Chemnitz, the 10th December, 1757. Yours.

DEAR SIR,

As I have nothing to do myself, I am more curious to know what others are doing; and things are in such a crisis, that news may be expected from all quarters, instead of which, since the first account of the batle, I have not heard a word more about it; yet I think, by this time, Breslaw might have been ours. Our Generals were more expeditious, for I do not believe they kept it three days after the loss of their batle. Nothing neither from Prince Ferdinand; it's true the taking 500 dragoons is a very good beginning, but if he does not follow the blow closse, that will not do. Lewald should now, likewise, be in the Swedish Pomerania. Every one of these gives me equall concern, for every one of them is of the greatest consequence. If we were quitte of the Swedes, Lewald cou'd perhaps give assistance to Prince Ferdinand, and if he, on his side, drives Richelieu out of Hanovre, I shou'd expect we soon might have a peace, and even a good one. We have seen such odd turns this year, that I'me afraid of what may happen the ensuing one, and therfor I wish from my soul that we may improve the present that fortune has bestowed on us in such a manner as to put it out of her power to recall it.

I guesse the reason of your uneasiness at what you see where you are, but, to tell you the truth, I do not see that you have great reason; there is only one can give good grounds for uneasiness amongst us, and yours I 'me perswaded does not come from thence. I have

desired the King's leave to go to Dresden, as I suppose all military operations are now over in these parts till next spring. Wou'd you not, likewise, be better there than where you are? you'd be nearer the King, and not farther from the correspondence with your own Court than what you are at present. If you are so good as to write to me, you may do it by the post, which comes here regularly twice a week, and I assure you there is no danger of your letters miscarrayng, if you desire Schram, a merchant in Leipsig, to send them. Adieu, dear Sir.

Chemnitz, December the 17*th*, 1757.

Dear Sir,

As I never expected any other thing from the quarter you hint to me, I 'me not in the least surprised at it, and in truth it gives me no uneasiness as to publick affairs. I told you already that there was only one persone with us that cou'd influence them, and this does not come from him; therfor I think you may be perfectly easy, and assured that if, on your side, you act with spirit and resolution, we will not fail in that case going hand in hand with you; but if you shou'd act as negligently this spring as you have all last year, without doubt our safety must oblige us to seek ally's that might be something more than a bare name, for hitherto you have been nothing more to us. I 'me charmed with the Prince of Brounswick's movements; it 's impossible to have done more in fifteen days;

Frederic himself cou'd not have gone faster. I wish he had the troops you mention to me out of Pomerania, but I cannot think that Lewald will part with them till he has drove the Swedes into the island of Rugen, or at least under the cannon of Stralsund. Adieu, dear Mr. Mitchell; believe me, most unalterably,

Yours.

Chemnitz, December the 19*th*, 1757.

Dear Sir,

Every minute my impatience augments in regard to Prince Ferdinand. The 12th you said he was within two short miles of Zelle, and since then I hear no more of him. If they are in a condition to stop his progress before their army is assembled, judge what will become of him when their wholle force is united. If he does not fight them before then, I 'me afraid things will go ill, and I 'me persuaded on his success depends our fate, for we must not hope always to beat French army's of fifty or sixty thousand men with a handfull of troops, as we did the last time. If you have any news from him, or of him, for God's sake let me know it; and if you have any gazettes, French or others, pray send them me, for I am here as much out of the world as if I was in Siberia. Adieu, dear Mr. Mitchell.

Chemnitz, December the 29*th*, 1757.

Dear Sir,

Since my writing to you by the Chasseur, I have received a letter from my brother, of a part of which I send you a copy, and likewise the original of a note which he had inclosed in it. I 'me afraid the ill success you had in former solicitations will deter you from venturing on new ones: however, I send it you to make what use you will of it. If you have any English magazins, I should be infinitely obliged to you if you wou'd send me them, as likewise to order the first messenger who comes from England to you, bring me ane almanac of this year, in which the list of the fleet and army is comprehended.

Yours for ever.

Chemnitz, December the 29th.

Dear Sir,

It was with the greatest pleasure I saw by your letter, which I received two days ago, your safe arrival at Breslaw, and, at the same time, the proofs of your friendship, both for my brother and myself. I had already wrote to him that I doubted much if you wou'd undertake the solicitation for Monsieur de Villette's cousin, considering the manner the Queen of Hungary treated our prisoners; but I must, at the same time, acquaint you that he is far from complaining of Monsieur de Villette; on the contrary, he says he

always received and even published all the manifestos and papers which he sent him in defence of our cause, whille the other absolutely refused them. Some time ago I had wrote to him, expressing my surprise at the Suisse troops having passed the Rhin, which he says was absolutely owing to the intrigues of one Yenner, of the Canton of Bern, who offered his regiment, which example was followed by all the others, except the Canton of Zurick, who forbid Lockman to act against the King of Prussia, and England, and that he has his reason to believe, that if these two Princes complained conjointly of Yenner's proceeding, the Canton might be engaged to recall him ; I have wrote to nobody on this subject but yourself, therfor you may make what use you please of it ; but certainly if we cou'd prevail on the Suisse to recall their troops, which amounts to eighteen batalions, it wou'd be of the greatest importance to us for more than one reason.

I am too much of my cousin Keith's opinion to expect much success from his mission, if it is not supported by very vigorous measures. I was once a kind of minister, I had even proposals of an extraordinary enough kind to make : they were found reasonable because I had 14m men round Stockholm to plead the justice of my cause. Who knows if a squadron before Cronstadt might not have the same effect ? If everything is not tryed, and a good deal effected this year on your side, I am fully perswaded it will be fatal to us both. You may remember how near the brink of ruine we were three months ago. Two miracles have saved us, but still

we must have more if we are not powerfully assisted. We have the same combination of enemy's to oppose, and if either we do not find means to divide them, or to procure ourselves more friends, in the end we must unevitably perish. Last year we made effortes, which certainly have intrinsecally weaken'd us ; we may find, perhaps, resources this present one to appear formidable; but this must certainly be our last push. Next year will infallibly shew too plainly our defects, and then we are undone. Nothing can save us but ane army in Hanovre able to resist the force which France has actually in Germany ; for if she is in a condition to join a part of her troops to those of the Empire, what the King has left in Saxony will never be able to defend that Electorat against their united strength ; and when once they are masters of Saxony, the King's hereditary dominions must fall in course. I see by Grant's destination that he is advanced, but I do not know whether he is Colonel or Lieutenant-Colonel, and from himself I shall never know it, and therfor must address myself to you for the explication ; whatever it is, I beg you wou'd assure him of my joie on the occasion.

I am most sincerely
Yours.

My health is bad, but not quite so much as former winters, and therfor I hope that this attack will not last so long as it used to do.

Dresden, January the 28*th*, 1758.

My dear Sir,

Your last letter has given me new spirits. Tho' I have litle expectation of any good from my countrymen, the dispositions I see on the side of Hanover give me hopes that we may open the campagne there with vigour. Prince Henry writes me that the Prince of Holstein has joined Prince Ferdinand with 20 squadrons of dragoons and hussars, and that he has detached a corps to the Bishoprick of Hildesheim to raise contributions: if the French are beat, I most earnestly intreat you to use your interest that I may get ane act of naturalisation as a Hanoverian; for no mortal will care any more to bear in foreign contrys the name of an Englishman, who when they have dranck ten potts of beer to the King of Prussia's health on his birthday, think they have done all that honour requires for such ane ally. You cannot imagine how sincerly I at present despise them. God grant they may give me reason to change my sentiments to their advantage; but offers of mony will not do this; it will convince me only of their want of courage, and that they wish their pocquets might pay for their skins. What a shamefull opinion must the world have of them! Their heads are no better than their hearts. 10m men might perhaps save them this year, when all the power of England may not be able to do it the next, for when once we are ruined, their turn will very soon follow; at least, if things go better than I expect, we

shall have the glory of having saved England, not they us. Adieu, dear Sir; you know I am entirely yours.

Dresden, the 10th February, 1758.

Dresden, the 10th February, 1758.

DEAR SIR,

I received the honour of your letter when my health was so bad that I was not in a condition to answer it; and, in truth, the contents of it did not put balm in my blood. I see our countrymen will indolently regard our ruin; but it is possible that they do not see that their own must soon follow after. You may depend on it, the resolution is already taken to attack the island itself how soon they have finished their work here. They thought themselves so sure of this in September last, that the plan was already formed to have attacked you this summer by three diferent desents at the same time; nothing but the King's success in the end of the campagne has hinder'd the execution of it, this present year; but it is only deferred till we are put out of the way. This I have from so good hands, that I cannot doubt of the truth of it, and as it's probable that the war in Germany must finish this year, I 'me afraid the next may be fatal to England. I shall see at least with the less concern, that I think you will owe it to your own negligence, and therfor that you deserve it.

The letter concludes with the passage respecting the state of his health, which has been already quoted at page 445.

The following letter is particularly interesting, from its allusions to the natural desire of the two exiles to see their native country in their old age. The Marshal touches on the subject with his usual delicacy and manly frankness, generosity, and honourable feeling. Mitchell exerted himself greatly and effectively in this matter.

DEAR SIR,

I received your two letters of the 28th February and 4th of March. I 'me sorry to find by them that you have reasons not to be content with either side. I know your way of thinking, that you are neither partial nor prejudiced in favour of your countrymen, and am therfor more afraid that you may have reason. For my own part, I am very ill pleased with your side, and will be no more a Hanoverian, in spight of Prince Ferdinand's success, which has certainly surpassed my expectation. But the extravagance of these people is unsuferable, for tho' they know what numbers of diferent enemy's the King has to defend himself against, yet they pretend he shall continue the assistance he at present gives them, which you know betwixt Prince Henry and the Prince of Holstein, amounts to more than 11m men ; whille on their side I do not see as yet

they think of helping him in anything, not so much as a single ship to block Stralsund by sea, and till the midle of May, that the Russe harbours are open, six men-of-war, of 60 and 50 guns, and four frigates wou'd certainly end the war in Pomerania, and give Lewald the means of marching against the Russe. A merchant of Stralsund, who is now at Leipsig, assures positively, that if fresh provisions does not arrive befor the first of May, both army and burghers must dye of hunger. For God's sake, and for their own, endeavour to awaken these people. If they seem only to act with vigour in the present confusion the French are in, they may certainly drive them to the other side of the Rhin ; but I see with regreat, by a letter from Prince Ferdinand, that when they are once masters of the Weser, they intend to remain, I suppose, on the defensive, till such time as the French have assembled troops enough to drive them back to Slade. Instead of this, if they marched at present to Osnabruck or Paderborn, where their only magazins are, they certainly would be obliged to quitte Westphalia for want of subsistance. You will easily guess the reason of this conduct, which can be no other than the fear of its being said that they had invaded the territory of any of the Princes of the Empire. I never had any leter from either father or mother of Lockhart but what you sent me, and therfor the story of the 200 ducats is absolutely groundless. I had a letter lately from himself, desiring I wou'd use what interest I cou'd to procure him his liberty, but not a word of his want of money, which I wou'd have furnish'd him with

pleasure. As to what he asked, I wrote immediately to General Wobersnow, who assures me that he shall be immediately exchanged. You know I have no secrets for you, I therfor send you Lord Galloway's[6] original letter, part of which is on a subject which I cannot and will not answer without your advice; nor wou'd I propose such a thing to the King without having a reasonable probability of his not suffering a refusal; for notwithstanding the inclination both my brother and myself may have of seeing in our old age our native country, yet I know he, as well as myself, wou'd forget it for ever, rather than be ane occasion that the King shou'd think his recommendation despised. If you have any friend in England, to whom you cou'd open yourself on this subject, and who could let you know if there was any hopes of succeeding in such ane attempt, you wou'd do me the most singular service to comunicate to him what I have wrote to you, and at the same time you may assure him, that I make no doubt of procuring the strongest recommendations from the King, my master, in favour of my brother, providing he thinks it may not be disagreeable to your master; for I 'me sure neither of us wou'd chuse to go home under a cloud of suspition and disdain; and I shou'd be sorry to raise a debate in the Senate whether we shou'd be buried by a grave-digger of Aberdeen or of Berlin. You remember the story in Polibius: our case is much the same. Be so good as to send me back Lord Galloway's

[6] The Earl of Galloway had married a sister of the Keiths.

letter, that I may answer it when I receive yours. Adieu, dear Sir.

Dresden, the 11th March, 1758.

I just now received a letter from Prince Henry, where he acquaints me that the Colone of French which passed the Weser, at Hameln, have continued their march to Paderborn. Prince Ferdinand invested Minden the 6th, but I find they do not know the strength of the garnison;[7] some say 500 men, others six batalions; but as everybody agrees that it is a very weak place, I hope it will not make a long resistance. You will, perhaps, know all this already; however, as I have no news from hence, I give you what I have from other parts. I think I have now got the better of this winter, for I recover strength every day.

Dear Sir,

Your Ministry are certainly mad. They know that since the mission of Mr. Villers, till you arrived, they have not had one Minister here with whom the King has been satisfy'd, and now they recall you to run the risk of falling into the same inconveniency under which they had so long laboured. I am every day more suspicious that we have very litle, or, indeed, nothing to expect from them, and this step has convinced me. They are afraid of being served by one who acts with candour and sincerity, and chuse rather to employ one who will flatter their indolence than

[7] Garrison.

one who, having the good of his country more at heart than the favour of those who govern it, has perhaps told them truths, which they take for reproaches; poor country, what can it expect from people who dare not employ one honest man, for fear of discovering the diference between him and them?

I have wrote to Lord Galloway that I know my brother's intentions enough to have put his scheme in execution even without having impairted it to him, but that I find the circumstances not so favourable at present for the demand as he imagines, and therfor must deferr it till things are riper than yet they are. As the King has ordered me to come and join him, I hope in the beginning of next month to have the pleasure of seeing you and assuring you of the sincerity of that friendship with which I shall be eternally

Yours.

Dresden, the 20th March, 1758.

Miss Eve, who sets out next week for Berlin, desires me to make you a thousand compliments.

My brother (I suppose) imagines that the M^s^. Dargens[8] has very considerable estates in Paraguai, for he desires me to send him the inclosed relation of the Jesuits in that country; I beg therfor you wou'd give it him.

[8] Marquis D'Argens.

Fribus, September the 3rd, 1758.

Dear Sir,

I wish you double joy, both on the success of the batle at which you have assisted, and on those which our countrymen have had in America: the relation of the taking of Cape Breton I have seen very minutely detailed in the Gazette; but I hear General Abercrombie has likewise beat the French on the mainland. God grant it may be true, for I 'me always of opinion that your success in that part of the world will operate more on the peace than all we are doing here. As to the batell the King has won, all that I know of it is, that the Russes are beat, but I have heard of no particularity's. You will do me a singular favour to let me know something which I can depend on when your time permits you, which will infinitly oblige him who is for ever

Yours.

My health is much better, tho' I have had another fitt of the goute, which is now almost over, and I hope I shall be to-morrow a-horseback.

Dear Sir,

I am much obliged to you for having corrected that part of my letter. I did not remember Lord Barrington's words in relation to myself, and shall send you another, where this shall be alter'd. I need not tell you the news of the mouvements of the Turks; Monsieur des Bordes will inform you better, but I begin

to think the affair serious, and hope it may produce a peace. Pray let me know the state of your health, and if I may soon hope to have the pleasure of seing you here. I am infinitly obliged to you for the trouble you have been at about litle Keith's[9] commission, and return you Mr. Ross's leter with the different Gazettes you sent me. When anything worth your while passes here, I shall certainly acquaint you, and news or newspapers you receive I beg you will communicate them to me.

Yours, most faithfully.

September the 20th.

Dear Sir,

It's too true that the Russes are still at Landsberg; the news of their retreat was occasioned by the march of a detachment towards Poland, who returned soon after with a considerable convoy of provisions, which they made come from that country: this makes me suspect that their design is still to attempt the passage of the Oder, in which, if they succeed, they

[9] This was the young gentleman referred to in a preceding page, for whom Mitchell obtained a commission in the British army. The Earl Marischal, in a letter in French, dated Neufchatel, 22nd December, 1758, and signed "Le Marechal d'Ecosse," says of him, "Je connois son frere, j'ay connu son pere, son grand oncle. Ils ont perdu le peu de bien qu'ils avoient par des malheurs du tems. Ils descendent de ma famille, c'est une branche qui en est sortie il y a long tems." Lord Barrington, then Secretary at War, in a letter to Mitchell of 2nd February, 1759, which will be found a few pages on, says:—"Mr. Keith was yesterday notify'd for an ensigncy in the first regiment of Guards, and has a junior officer already, for there were two vacancies." Among the Mitchell Papers there are several letters from this young gentleman, thanking Mitchell warmly for all the kindness and service he had done him.

may march either to Berlin or into Silesia, as they juge proper. Here every thing is quiet. If you have any French Altona Gazettes or any other, do me the favour to send me them.

Yours.

September the 25th.

Dear Sir,

If I had had any thing worth writing to you, you may depend on it I wou'd not have been so long silent; but everything is entirly quiet with us, we have got the position we wanted, by which we have cut off Marshal Daun's communication with Bautzen and those parts of Lusatia from whence he drew his provisions and fourage. If he remains now in Saxony, he must at least be nourished from Bohemia, and that at a very great expence, considering the distance and bad roads between him and his magazins. You know I have often fortold to you what has happen'd, and I think I may profecy now that he will not be able to maintain the position he is in beyond the 20th of the month, if he does not risk a battle, to open an intercourse with Saxony; and of that I doubt, because he knows that it is what we wish and want, and therfor what naturally he will avoid. Our news of the Turkish mouvements is confirmed from all hands, and my brother writes me the same, which he has had from Venice, where the pantalons are very much allarm'd, tho' certainly without reason; for, as the magazins and artillerie have been shipped for the Black Sea, they are certainly to be

debarked either at Otzacoff, or in the mouth of the Danube, and therfor the war is either against Russia or Hungary.

The King has, likewise, had news from Holland that the English have been repulsed in their new invasion on the coast of France; he does not believe it, and I do. You have multiply'd these things too often, or, at least, too soon, the one on the back of another. All the coasts are on their guard, and every creature that can use arms has them certainly in their hands. I have often told you, and am still convinced, that the expense exceeds the advantage you will reap by these incursions, and that the effectual method of reducing France to reasonable terms is attacking Martinico, and even St. Domingo, if you are not afraid that the Spaniards might join with the French; but even the loss of Martinico wou'd be a terrible blow to the trade of France. But I 'me perswaded your Ministry has not courage to undertake such ane enterprize, which is ane affaire of quite another detaile than running over for three or four days to the coast of France, and then returning to Portsmouth to take in fresh beer. God grant you good success, but I 'me afraid you do not deserve it. The desertion of the Austrians is prodigious; every day 20 or 30 comes here, and Retzow, who is on the other side Bautzen, says as many comes to him, and you may believe the greatest number passes coming * *[1] either. Adieu.

From the Camp near Bishofsverda, October the 5th, 1758.

[1] Torn off.

The above appears to be the last letter Mitchell received from the Marshal, who was killed little more than a week after, in the battle of Hochkirch, on the 14th October.

What is especially observable in these letters is the total absence of anything like despondency, with a perfect perception of the true situation of affairs—and that a situation of difficulty and danger unparalleled in history. The world is literally leagued against them. They have but the resources of the small kingdom of Prussia, already nearly exhausted, and an English subsidy, against all Europe. The toils are closing around the hunted monarch and the veteran marshal. Yet that strong heart beats as equably as if nothing extraordinary were going on—nothing, at least, which called for more than ordinary anxiety, though something demanding vigilance and activity, and stirring the spirit and giving to the blood an honourable impulse. Not that he is, in the slightest degree, blind to the real nature of his position ; he sees the danger, but he looks on it like a strong, brave, far-sighted man, and a veteran soldier, to whom the surrender of life is a habitual virtue, and who has been long used to view death as the end of all evils, of all perplexities, of all troubles, of all trials. There is not the slightest sinking of the heart. His path lies before him, arduous and rugged, beset with enemies, encompassed with perils, but fear and irresolution never for an instant cast their shadows across it.

It is somewhat curious, particularly when taken in connexion with some observations we have made on Keith's position under such a commander as Frederic, that the Marshal owed his death to a military blunder of Frederic's. Whether this blunder originated in false intelligence transmitted to him by a spy in the Austrian camp, or not, is immaterial as regards the blame that attaches to the King on the occasion ; and Sir Andrew Mitchell expressly says, in his despatches, that it was a habitual error of Frederic's to pay too stingily for information. But the facts were these :—

Marshal Daun had taken up a very strong position, where his right wing was supported upon the Schomberg, and the left on the woody heights of Hochkirch. On the 10th of October, Frederic took, between Hochkirch and Radewitz, such a position that the quartermaster is said to have declined to mark out the camp, for which he was put under arrest. The Prussian General and Prince Maurice remonstrated against the dangerous position. But the King persisted, with his usual obstinacy, gave directions where the camp should be pitched, and had it marked out by a lieutenant of the engineers, under the fire of the Austrians. Keith, who had stayed behind at Bautzen, to cover a convoy of flour expected from Dresden, joined the King on the 11th, and exclaimed, on seeing the camp, only a cannon-shot from the front of the Austrians, and commanded on all sides by their guns, "If the Austrians leave us alone here, they deserve to be hanged." "It is to be hoped," replied Frederic, smiling, "that they

are more afraid of us than of the gallows." Unfortunately, the Marshal proved right, and the King wrong.

On the 11th, Daun employed troops in felling trees in the wood opposite to the Prussian right wing, and in throwing up redoubts here and there along the front (between which and the Prussians there were some ravines) to increase the King's security, and to make it appear that his only object was to protect himself and bar the road to Silesia against the enemy. On the night of the 13th he broke up with a portion of his army in three columns ; but the watch-fires were kept burning, and the strokes of the axes were heard as usual. About half-past four in the morning of the 14th (it was moonlight, but there was a dense fog) Daun's troops commenced the attack, stormed the heights of Hochkirch, and made themselves masters of the Prussian artillery.

At the first sound of the cannon Keith leaped from his couch, and on hearing that the post of Hochkirch was overpowered, he mounted on horseback and hastened thither, accompanied only by one of his aid-de-camps, his running footman, and John Tebay an English volunteer (who had attended him through all that campaign, from whose original letter to Sir Andrew Mitchell this account of Marshal Keith's death is chiefly drawn) ; some of his usual attendants staying behind. When they came near to the right wing, where the attack began, the Field Marshal told the aid-de-camp that it was his duty to go before and

not behind. On which the aid-de-camp passed by the Marshal, went before for about two hundred yards, then turned to the right, and they never saw him more during the affair. The Marshal then advanced near to Hochkirch, and the enemies' fire began to be very warm. The Marshal, being in want of assistance, desired an officer to assist, but he was presently wounded and rendered incapable. "So there was none," says Mr. Tebay, in his simple, unpolished, but interesting narrative, "by the Marshal but the footman and myself during the battle for to assist. Four times the Marshal made the troops advance, and four times we took possession of the village of Hoghkirk,[2] and as often we were beat back by the superiority of the enemy and the disadvantage of the ground; the Marshal always where there was most danger, and riding from right to left to make the troops advance, but all in vain. Twenty times, and twenty more he called out, where is my aid-de-camps, but they were not to be found, and the Marshal stood exposed to the fire of the enemy, when we had not one single troop Prussion[3] betwixt us and the enemy, who advanced at that time in great force, till at last he received his mortal wound, not having desire to outlive that day. He tumbled dead from his horse into my arms. He had received a wound before in his right side; but that would not make him leave the field till he received his mortal wound in the left side of his body. His horse was wounded at the beginning of the battle." Mr. Tebay

[2] *Sic* in MS.

[3] *Sic* in original.

continues, "I did all my endeavour to get him from the field of battle, but all in vain. I got six soldiers and got him set upon the horse again to bring him off, but *une officieur* came and drove the soldiers away, and would not let them assist, which was such barbarity as I never see. After that, I left the footman with him and rid for a coach. I demanded of several, but could not get one till I came to his own; but when I returned with the coach, the enemies had taken possession of the ground where he lay."

The Marshal's body, after having been stripped by the Austrian stragglers, had been carried, with many others, into the little church of the village of Hochkirch, where it lay with a Croat's cloak over it. Marshal Daun, accompanied by General Lacy[4] and other officers, happened to enter the church. Lacy, who was the son of Marshal Lacy, with whom Keith had served in the Russian army, and had been the pupil of Keith, approached the body, removed the cloak, looked at it with great emotion, and said, "It is my father's best friend, Keith." He recognised the body partly from the scar of a dangerous wound on the thigh, which the Marshal had received at the siege of Oczakow. It is said that Lacy burst into tears; and that even Daun and the other officers present could not refrain from a similar expression of feeling. At this moment a Croat made his appearance, dressed in the Marshal's uniform, with

[4] This is the same name which is elsewhere spelled Lascy, which spelling probably arose from the foreign pronunciation of the name. The family was English, or rather Irish.

his star and riband. Daun inquired how he came by these. "I took them," he replied, "from the fellow who lies yonder, whom I killed and stripped, and have given him my cloak in return." A man who was so mourned by his enemies might well be so by his friends. Hard eyes gave sign of emotion—the tears of men—they are not shed for every one. They were shed here for the revered commander, who, by the gentleness and mildness of his manners, procured more submission to his orders than others could obtain by severity, for the beloved comrade who was so pleasant and yet so sincere and true, for the brave and valiant soldier and "very perfect gentle knight," for the Bayard of the eighteenth century. Part of what Lord Byron has so beautifully said of General Marceau may be most truly applied to Marshal Keith—

> "His mourners were two hosts, his friends and foes;
> And fitly may the stranger lingering here
> Pray for his gallant spirit's bright repose;
> * * * * * * *
> ——— he had kept
> The whiteness of his soul, and thus men o'er him wept."

Frederic's esteem for the elder brother, which continued unaltered to the last, is well known. Of the younger brother, the Field Marshal, the great King has drawn in his History of the Seven Years' War, a character which, though brief, is so full of meaning, particularly as coming from one so sparing of praise, that it may well serve for his epitaph. "Le Roi fit une bonne acquisition en attirant de Russie le Maréchal

Keith à son service. C'etoit un homme doux dans le commerce, ayant des vertus et des mœurs, habile en son métier, et qui avec la plus grande politesse, étoit d'une valeur héroïque dans un jour de combat." Such a character, written by such a man, of one who had served under him reminds one of what Schiller makes Wallenstein say of Max. Piccolomini.

> " His life is bright—bright without spot it *was*,
> And cannot cease to be."

It is said that Frederic was much pleased with an amusement which the Marshal invented in imitation of the game of chess. The Marshal ordered several thousand small statues of men in armour to be cast by a founder. Those he would set opposite to each other, and arrange in battalia in the same manner as if he had been drawing up an army. He would bring out a party from the wings or centre, and show the advantage resulting from the different draughts which he made. In this manner the King (who, by-the-by, is said to have declared that he never could learn the ordinary game of chess,) and the Marshal often amused themselves. The Marshal, with all his great qualities, is reported to have been a bad economist; and to have sometimes absented himself from court when he could not pay his debts. On one of these occasions Frederic called upon him,[5] and found him in his garden, employed

[5] For this, and one or two other anecdotes respecting the two Keiths, here related, I am indebted to "An historical and authentic Account of the ancient and noble Family of Keith, Earls Marischal of Scotland. By P. Buchan, author of Annals of Peterhead, &c. Peterhead, 1820."

in pointing paper cannon at 1300 pins of wood in different directions, so as to discover how he might pour the greatest quantity of fire upon them, as their position changed. The King paid his General's debts, was delighted with the discovery of his amusement, and augmented the number of pins to 12,000 ; after which, he and his General had many a keen engagement in the garden, which proved of great service afterwards in the field.

The siege of Oczakow, the battles of Williamstadt and Rosbach, and the retreat of the Prussians from Prague, under his conduct, after the loss of the battle of Kolin by Frederic, have been cited as proofs of his military capacity.

In regard to Marshal Keith's opportunities of gaining distinction in the Seven Years' War, under Frederic, Mitchell thus writes to Lord Holdernesse on the 16th October, 1758 : "I am sorry to say, the loss of this worthy man (Marechal Keith) will be felt in the Prussian army, though all the use was not made of him that might justly have been expected."

The following description of the Field Marshal is from a discourse (in French) on the death of Marshal Keith, read before the Royal Academy of Sciences, at Berlin, soon after his death :—

"His countenance was expressive of his character ; his stature rather above the middle size, but of a make extremely well-proportioned ; his complexion brown,

eyebrows thick, and his features very agreeable ; but, above all, he had an air of so much goodness, that it quite gained the heart at his very first appearance. His demeanour was like that of a respectable father of a family, which challenged reverence, but, much more, challenged love. His constitution was remarkably vigorous till weakened by the incredible fatigues which he underwent ; yet the vigour of his spirit far surpassed that of his body. He would have made a great figure in the sciences and in literature, had not his life been so much occupied in the manner we have seen. Nevertheless, there have been few generals so eminent as he was in this respect. He spoke English, French, Spanish, Russian, Swedish, and Latin, and was able to read the Greek authors. His ordinary conversation was in French, in which language he expressed himself perfectly well, and with great precision, being one that did not speak much. He had seen all the Courts of Europe, great and small, from that at Avignon to the residence of the Khan of Tartary ; and accommodated himself to every place as if it had been his native country. General, minister, courtier, philosopher,—all these characters, however different in themselves, were in him united.

'But, beyond all contradiction, he chiefly excelled in military affairs. When we take a review of his life, we are confounded with the great variety of his brave exploits, and are scarce able to follow him through that number of places where he acquired renown. But that which ought to render his memory for ever precious is,

that he was a hero extremely humane ; never omitting to do anything in his power that might soften and alleviate the calamities of war, lessen the number of its miseries, and, in some measure, relieve those whom it had rendered wretched.

" He lived a bachelor, and did not run the risk of transmitting his great name to heirs that might be incapable of supporting it worthily."

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Dresden, Thursday, 19th October, 1758.

My Lord,

A few days before the unfortunate affair of the 14th, an ingineer brought me, by Marshal Keith's order, a plan of the siege of Olmutz ; and that worthy gentleman had before desired me to ask the favour of your Lordship to lay him at the King's feet, and to present in his name this plan to his Majesty, which he intended to have accompanied with a journal of the siege.

I obey the commands of my departed friend with pleasure, and it is a great satisfaction to me to be able to assure your Lordship (when neither flattery nor interest can be suspected) that on every occasion I have heard the late Marshal Keith express the highest esteem and veneration for his Majesty.

I am, &c.,

Andr. Mitchell.

After all, though Marshal Keith may be admitted to have been one of the greatest captains (of the second class) of modern times, still he, probably, must be

viewed as one of those men to whom circumstances have not given that position, in which their abilities have had the most full and ample room for their exercise. We may indeed say, in the language of a modern poet—

> ——"He was one
> Of many thousands such, that die betimes,
> Whose story is a fragment, known to few.
> The sphere, the scale of circumstance, is all
> Which makes the wonder of the many."

We may say, that, had Keith remained in the service of Russia, he would have had a field opened for the exercise of his abilities, which, serving under Frederic, he could never have; for Fermor, who commanded the Russian army against Frederic, had served under Keith. But it is vain to speculate on what might have been, had circumstances been different. We must reason from facts as they are.

A part of the following letter to Mitchell from an attendant of Marshal Keith, who was with the Marshal when he was killed, giving a minute account of the death of that brave and excellent man, has already been given. It will, I think, be found interesting; though the writer, it will be perceived, makes little pretension to correct letter-writing, either in orthography or in the grammatical construction of his sentences. The letter is printed with no other alteration than the insertion of a stop here and there, to assist in rendering the meaning clear; a practice I have observed generally in regard to these papers. I am happy to be able to state that Mitchell appears to have had it in his power

to comply with Mr. Tebay's request. There is among his papers a certificate of the respectability of Mr. Tebay's character and connexions, (no doubt, to back Mitchell's recommendation of him to the commander of the English army in Hanover,) signed by the clergyman and many respectable inhabitants of a parish in Westmoreland, and another in Durham, with a receipt endorsed on the back from Messrs. Drummond, Mitchell's bankers in London, for ten guineas, which Mitchell had advanced to Mr. Tebay.

Crossen, October the 29th, 1758.

HONNORD SIR,

I demand pardon for not writing before, but Expecting to Come to Dresden every Day with the Convoy was the only reason which hindred me from writing; expecting every Day to Se you and render you Anaccount In Person of the Death of Brave Marschel Keith, which Death will allways be an Honour to the Nation where he was born, for his grand behaveour at the Battle of Hoghkirk; and who was Disarted by both his Adecamps at the begining of the Battle, which they ought to be exposed to the world. The Marschal mounted on Horsback assoon as he had notice of the attack, That it was begun, accompen'd only with Capten Goudy and myself and his footman; Cockcey Staing behind, and also his Sarvant which used to ride along with him. So when we came near our right wing where the attack begun, Field Marschal tould Goudy that it was is Duty to goe before and not behind, on which Goudy passed by the Marschal and went before for about two

Hundred yeards, and then turn'd to the right, and we never Se him more during the Affaire. After that, the Marschal advancd near Hoghhirk, and there Cockcey came to hus, but did not Stay two miniutis, and the Marschal never yet Spook to him, for he Directly turn'd to the right and was gon, for then the Enemies fier begun to be very warm, and the Marschal presently after being at a want for assistance, he desird an Officer to Assist, but that officier was presently wounded and rendred Incapable ; So there was none by The Marschal but the footman and myself During the Battle for to Assist. Four times the Marschal made The troups advance, and four times we took posesion of the Village of Hoghkirk, and as often we were bet Back by the Superiority of the Enemy and the Disadvantage of the Ground ; The Marschal always where there was most danger, and riding from right to left to make the Troups Advance, but all in vain. Twenty times, and Twenty more he Call'd out, where is my Adecamps, but they were not to be found, and the Marschal Stud Expos'd to the fier of the Enemy when we had not one Single trup Prussion betwext hus and the Enemy who advanc'd at that time in great force, til at Last he recev'd his Mortal wound, not having disire to out Live that day. He tumbld Dead from his hors into my arms. He had recev'd awound before in his right side ; but that would not make him leve the Field til he recev'd his Mortal wound In the left side of his body. His hors was wounded at the begining of the Battle. His Death will give me reason to remember to See the Actions of So Brave aman and after

that be an Eye wittness of his Death. I did all my Indevour to get him from the Field of Battle, but all in vain. I got Six Solders and got him set upon the Hors again to bring him off; but une officieur came and Drove the Soldiers away, and would not let them Assist, which was Such barbarity as I never See. After that, I Left the footman with him and rid for a Coach. I Demanded of Sevral, but could not get one til I came to his own; but when I returned with the Coach, the Enemies had taken Possesion of the ground where he laid, and the foot man had Left him after takeing his purs, hat, watch, and sword, which I think was avery bad Action; but he was very much commend'd by Cockcey. So I had no more to say. So I was oblig'd to Demand Permission of the King to return, as I had Lost my money before, and had been Disapoint'd from England, and now had Lost my Frind, which was agreat Deal wors, oblig'd me to leve his Armee. So he was so good as give me Ananswer, of which I send you inclosed a Coppy, and also a Letter which Genral Angenally was so good as write to you on my Account, as he was an Eye-wittness of my behaveour at the Fatle Battle of Hoghkirk, til he had the misfortune of haveing his hors shot under him with A cannon Bool. He has also given me a Letter to Genral Leggoner of reccomendation, as I am resolv'd to offer my sarvis to the King of England, in which I beg your Excellence will be so good as give me A Letter of reccomendation To Lord Leggoner, and also To the Duck of Malbrough, according to my behaveour, as the hole Prussion Armee

Knows it. If you Demand of Margraf Carl,[6] he came when I was standing by the Marschal In the midle of The fier of the Enemy. So if you will be so good as grant me that favour, I will do my Endevour to Deserve your reccomendation, or Die in the Attempt to serve my King and Contry.

So if your good-ness will grant me that Favour, I am resolv'd to joyn our Armee in Hannover Assown as I receve your reccommendation, which, I hope, you will not refuse me that favour, and I hope they will find me of sarvis to them. I had writ to England for my frinds to send you an Account of my Caracter, and also to pay Ten-guines to your Bancker in London, as I had been Disapointd by my frind Whom I had my Credit on at Rotterdam, which, I hope, will be pay'd, and which I wonder very much the reason why I have neither recev'd a Bill nor Ananswer to all the Letters I have writ. So I am at present without frinds, without money, and in a strange place, without your goodness will be so good as assist me with a Small Trifil and a Letter of reccommendation as above, till I arrive at our Armee in Hannover, and then I hope to be more near my Frinds, and be assur'd that you Shal never Losse one Fearthing by me ; and I hope you will grant me the favour, for I have no frind at present in this Contry but you to Apply to. I recev'd tow wounds at the Battle of Hoghkirk, but they are both of no very great Consquence. My Hors was also wounded in Six Defrent places of his Body. Pray let me have your Answer,

[6] Margrave Charles.

and Direct to John Tebay, to the care of Mrs. Merthens, at the Hous of the Government in Berlin. I set forward a Long with the wounded to come to Dresden; but our Comander, when we arriv'd at Kamins, at the sight of Twelve Hussers, and hering their was more at Koningsbrig, thought proper to return. I would gladly have come to se you at Dresden, but haveing no money I am Oblig'd to go the same rout a Long with the Seceratare of Field Marschal, and the rode not being sure to come alone, I am oblig'd to goe with the Convoy to Birlin, where I shal wate your answer. From your Ever humble sarv[t] to Comand

JOHN TEBAY.

I have also sent you a Coppy of the Litter Genral Angonallé[7] has writ to Lord Leggoner.[8] I have just recev'd the newes that the Duck of Malbrough is Dead; so I hope you will give me a Letter to Lord Leggoner, and also to some one of our English officiers In Hannover, or some one whom you shall thinck proper.

The following letter from Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse relates to the pardon of the Earl Marischal :—

Breslaw, Monday, 8th January, 1759.

MY LORD,

Last Thursday the King of Prussia told me he had received letters from Lord Marischal, his Governor of Neufchatel, desiring that his Prussian Majesty would be pleased to recommend him to his Majesty's grace and

[7] Angenelli. [8] Ligonier.

pardon. The King of Prussia added, that he believed a relation of Lord Marischal's was lately dead, to whom he should have succeeded, which had occasioned the present application. I answered that I apprehended, as Mr. Keith had been attainted by Act of Parliament, no part of the attainder could be reversed but by Parliament.

The King of Prussia replied, I know nothing of your forms, but I shall be obliged to you if you will write to the King's ministers in my name to desire them to intercede with the King for Lord Marischal's pardon, which, says he, I will consider as a personal favour done to myself.

I assured his Prussian Majesty I was ready to obey his commands forthwith, and that I believed every minister in the King's service would not only give the utmost attention to what he was pleased to suggest, but be willing to go all lengths to oblige him, as far as the laws and constitution of the country permitted.

The King of Prussia then said, what Lord Marischal asks does not appear unreasonable; he does not desire restitution of dignity and estate, only to be rehabilitated; I therefore hope his request may easily be granted; I will write myself to the King about it, and I trust to you to recommend this to the King's ministers.

In a subsequent conversation I had with the King of Prussia, after talking over the same things, he added, I know Lord Marischal to be so thorough an honest man, that I am willing to be surety for his future conduct.

I have mentioned minutely everything that has passed concerning this affair, in order to show your Lordship how much this generous monarch has the

interest of his old servant at heart, even in the midst of the greatest and most important occupations, and I dispatch this messenger on purpose, having no news of any sort to transmit.[9]

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

The following letter from Lord Barrington to Mr. Mitchell is inserted here, as relating chiefly to this chapter :—

Cavendish Square, 2nd February, 1759.

DEAR SIR,

In a former letter I acquainted you that I had read to the King what Marshall Keith wrote to me concerning his relation, an ensign in our service, though I did not receive his letter till after the news of his death. The King finding that the young gentleman was placed in a new regiment, (which, by the way, arose from a circumstance in the establishment of our army at that time, and which would take up too much writing in explaining,) ordered me to look out for a vacancy in an old regiment for him. You will do me the justice to believe I should not have been so long in obeying his Majesty's orders, if I had not waited for an occasion which might excuse delay. Mr. Keith was yesterday notify'd for an ensigncy in the first regiment of Guards, and has a junior officer already, for there were

[9] On the 14th February, 1759, Mitchell thus wrote to Lord Holdernesse :— "His Prussian Majesty was highly pleased with the favour the King has lately done him in the person of the late Lord Marischal; and he expressed to me, in very strong terms, the sense he had of it, and of the readiness with which his Majesty had granted it."

two vacancies. He must not be indulged with too long an absence. Baron Kniphausen thinks he might be permitted to serve the approaching campaine with the King of Prussia. If this might be obtain'd, it would certainly be of advantage to him; and, in that case, I would endeavour to get him excused from the joining his regiment till the beginning of next winter.

I have frequently reminded the Duke of Newcastle of your election, and his Grace assures me that he has it under consideration: I know that he has written to Lord Finlater in the manner you desire. I shall not omit frequent representations of what is so justly your due from him, both as Minister and Duke of Newcastle.

In general our affairs go on well at home and abroad. Our administration is surprisingly well connected, all things consider'd, and it seems likely to last as it is now constituted. What is the most material of all, the King is grown young again since his fit of the gout: he never was better. I am, with the most affectionate esteem,

My dear Mitchell,

Ever most faithfully your's,

BARRINGTON.

Thank you for my Almanack.

The following letters are from the Earl Marischal to Mitchell:—

Madrid, ce 24 *Aout,* 1759.

SIR,

You may wonder at my long silence. Your kind letter of 5th March came to my hands only by

last packet-boat from England; it was forwarded by our country man Mr. Wood. I am most gratefully acknowleging of the goodness of both the Kings towards me, and also of your good offices; for I know, by Baron Knyphausen, that before he delivered the King of Prussia's letter, the King of England was allready disposed to grant my pardon; you had, it seems, previously prepared well the way, as I have writ to my friends in Scotland, that they may know the obligation I think I have to you. I am most impatient for to-morrow's post; we know the French are beat by Prince Ferdinand of Brounswigh, but we are entirely ignorant of the circumstances. There is also a report from Vienna (and elsewhere) that the Russes have had some advantage over the Prussians; the great superiority of numbers makes me fear it may be trew.

All our news of Spain is in the gasettes; only the march of 22,000 men, extraordinary, into Catalonia, this is sure; I suppose you may already know it.

I thank you for your friendly offices to young Keith, and am always, with great consideration,

Sir,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

MARISCHALL.

I know from Baron Knyphausen not only the King's goodness and clemency, but also the favor of his

Ministers towards me; what ever more they shall add, shall be with gratitude received, and to them I leave it.

Madrid, Aprile 2d, 1760.

SIR,

You have a just right to my service in what I can, from the obligations I have to your friendly offices, as I already wrote to my friends at home; and by this post repeat the same to Lord Halkertoune, to Meldrum, to Pittulie, and to Mr. Smith: years and absence have diminished my friends and acquaintance to a very small number, which I regreat makes it less in my power to serve you; what I can do, you may count on.

I wish you joy on your advancement in the diplomatick order; by this time I suppose (as I prophesyed) you might make not a bad figure as Field Marshal; I wish you had commanded the horse in place of a certain person on a certain occasion, I dare say the victory would have been more compleat.

We have here numbers of lyes not to our advantage; my letters are long on the road; which makes me often suffer untill the storys either are contradicted, or dye a natural death after living one week. Such was that of last week, that the King of Prussia had (going to reconoitre the enemy) fallen into an ambuscade, and every one of his escorte been made prisoners except himself, his horse having made such a leap as never was.

The conquest of Ireland, by Mr. Thurant, has also miscarried. The French seem to have abated consider-

ably of the number of 160,000 men in campain in Germany, and do not talk now so high.

I saw a letter last courier from Berlin, which assures that the King's troops are compleated; with his superiority of talents I hope all shall go well,—God grant it may, both by sea and land. When I say by sea, I mean foreign expeditions, for at sea we have nothing more to fear but bad weather.

I return my thanks for your care of young Mr. Keith, and, by your friendly advice, am looking out for some military man to whom to recommend him.

I have the honour to be, with the greatest regard,

Sir,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

MARISCHALL.

London, February 22nd, 1761.

SIR,

I have the honor of your's of Jan. 31, only last night. I thank you for your favour in letting the ministers know the kind expressions with which the King of Prussia honors me.

You will see perhaps by the publick papers that my bill has passed both houses. The King made notify by his ministers his consent. It would have passed in a way much more advantageous to me, had it not been for one Web, a member of Parliament, an attorney, and esteemed by all a K——. I do not mean a King. Had it not been for Mr. Nugent, of the Treasury, he had *furtivement* thrust into my bill unperceived a clause

which would have given to me and to my heirs by Act of Parliament a law-suit for 50 years. I am told, by the Edinburgh newspapers only, that I am Provost of Kintore. I already told you that I hoped you would do our toune the honor to represent us in Parliament. Bayly Bruce will supply my absence. I shall allways be glad to have occasion to show the particular regard with which I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most humble and obedient servant,

MARISCHALL.

I had for me all the blew bonnetes to a man; and a lady whose good heart I respect still more than her birth, tho' it be the very highest, she made press me to ask a pension, assuring me it would cost but one word. I excused myself as having no pretension to merit it. She bid me not name her; in leaving you to guess, I do not injure her; she said the same also to Baron de Kniphausen.

SIR,

There should have needed no other recommendation than yours for my naming Mr. Hay as minister at Inverury, had it been the first. Lord Forbes had allready writ in his favor, I willingly agreed.

I rejoice that you are recovered of your illness, and wish you joy of the peace; may you long enjoy it with health. I hope soon to see you and assure

you of the particular regard with which I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most humble and obedient servant,

MARISCHALL.

Neufchatel, 1 *March*, 1763.

THE King arrived this morning only at Sans-soucie; I told him your snuff was come, so the sooner you write to him the better.

I fear Mr. Erskine can not see him, he is so busy; I saw Mr. Eichel come out of his room with such a number of papers as was terrible to behold. Please forward the enclosed to Mr. Forrester, who has sent me the Act of Parliament for the sale of the estates; I believe it will not produce much to the buyers; time will show. The good is, that I can live with what I already have. Adieu. I am ever yours.

ce 22 *juin*.

In reading your former, I find you have already writ to the King; it seems he had not before dinner (having arrived only to-day) seen your letter.

The Earl Marischal having obtained a pardon, in which Mitchell's good offices, as will be seen from the letters, were of considerable avail, revisited, in his old age, his native country. Mitchell, in a letter to the Duke of Newcastle, dated Meissen, 31st July, 1760, says: "I hear that the King of Prussia has given leave to Earl Marischal to go to England. He will, no doubt,

wait on your Grace the earliest. Pray receive him kindly; he is an honest, worthy man, but a little punctilious and formal." When he arrived at Peterhead, he went on to the bridge of Inverugie, but could proceed no further, and sent his secretary to examine the state of the castle, who found it to be in ruins. As he came along the coast, he had seen that his princely fortress of Dunottar was a thoroughfare for the winds of Heaven, and a dwelling for foxes and birds of night; "the spider had wove his web in the imperial palace, and the owl had sung his watch-song on the towers of Afrasiab;" his beloved brother, the companion of his youth, was in his grave, "childless, without memorial of his name," and he alone was left in his desolate old age, who had returned as it were but to visit the graves of his race. Recollections crowded upon him of such a nature, that, though any display of emotion was alien to his character, it is stated, on the authority of an eye-witness, that when met by his numerous vassals and friends, who welcomed him with every demonstration of joy, the old man wept. His countrymen, with a feeling which does them honour, would not bid against him when he attended in person to buy part of his estates. During his stay in Scotland the King of Prussia wrote to him the following characteristic letter :—

"I cannot allow the Scotch the happiness of possessing you altogether. Had I a fleet, I would make a descent upon their coasts and carry you off. The banks of the Elbe do not admit of these equipments;

I must therefore have recourse to your friendship, to bring you to him who esteems and loves you. I loved your brother with my heart and soul; I was indebted to him for great obligations. This is my right to you, this my title.

"I spend my time as formerly: only at night I read Virgil's Georgics, and go to my garden in the morning, to make my gardener reduce them to practice; he laughs both at Virgil and me, and thinks us both fools.

"Come to ease, to friendship, and philosophy; these are what, after the bustle of life, we must all have recourse to."

He returned to Prussia, and died at Potzdam, May 28, 1778, in the 86th year of his age. In him ended a title and office which had been in his family for more than 700 years.

Lord Marischal, to a sound head, joined a most excellent heart, and a temper so sweet, that even J. J. Rousseau, who had the honour of an acquaintance with him, and had received from him many obligations, particularly when Lord Marischal was governor of Neufchatel for Frederic, had never the heart to quarrel with him. He was remarkable in conversation for telling with great point and brevity an infinite number of very entertaining stories and anecdotes. His letters also were remarkably concise and elegant. Lord Marischal was much attached to Spain, where he used to say he had many good friends, not to mention the Sun. He resided, when there, chiefly in Valencia. In

a letter to Sir Arthur Forbes, Bart., of Craigievar, dated Potzdam, 23rd August, 1771, (printed below,) he speaks of Valencia as "the finest air, I believe, in the world."

He used to say to his physician during his illness, "Monsieur, je ne vous demande pas de me faire vivre, car vous ne prétendez point apparemment m'ôter cinquante ans de mon age, je vous prie seulement d'abréger (s'il se peut) mes maux. Après tout, je n'ai jamais été malade. Il faut bien que j'ai ma part des misères d'humanité, et je me soumets a cet arrêt de la nature." Two days before he died, he sent for Mr. Elliott, the British minister at the Court of Berlin, and said to him with his usual cheerfulness, "Je vous ai fait appeler parce que je trouve plaisant qu'un ministre du Roi George, reçoive les derniers soupirs d'un vieux Jacobite. D'ailleurs, vous aurez peut-être, quelques commissions à me donner pour milord Chatham,[1] et comme je compte de le voir demain ou après, je me chargerai avec plaisir de vos depêches ?"

The Earl Marischal to Sir Arthur Forbes, Bart.

Potzdam, 23rd August, 1771.

I HOPE, dear Sir, it is for pleasure rather than for your health that you go to the south of France as I am told, for you know how well I wish you and your family. If it is for health, I advise you to pass the Pyrenees, and jog on along the sea-shore until you come to Valencia,—the finest air, I believe, in the world.

[1] He had died about a fortnight before Lord Marischal.

The sea-breezes refresh the air sufficiently all the summer season. The Captain-General or Vice-Roy is my particular friend, and a Frenchman—his wife a Flemande. You will likewise find a good many of the people of the town and garrison who speak French, which[2] I take to be the only reasonable objection can possibly be made. If you follow my advice, you will thank me for it.

Ever faithfully your's,

M.[3]

To Sir Arthur.

[2] It is evident that the "which" here refers not to speaking, but to *not* speaking French.

[3] MS. at Fintray House. The letter was dictated by the Earl Marischal, then of great age, to Mr. Burnet, Sir Andrew Mitchell's secretary, who, after Sir Andrew's death, had occasion to see Lord Marischal as to some memorial of his deceased friend. The letter is all in Mr. Burnet's hand, except the words, "Ever faithfully yours, M.," and "To Sir Arthur," which are in Lord Marischal's. There is among the papers at Fintray House a considerable number of letters from Mr. Burnet (Alexander Burnet, Esq., of Kemnay, Aberdeenshire) to Sir Arthur Forbes, in reference to Sir A. Mitchell's affairs at the time of his death. Besides considerable legacies to Mr. Burnet, who had been his secretary from the time of his first going to Berlin, and some other friends, Sir A. Mitchell gave, by his will, the "gold snuff-box, set with diamonds, containing the King of Prussia's picture, which he had from his Prussian Majesty in the year 1765," to the Earl of Findlater; and a few small legacies to old servants, some of whom, as appear from Mr. Burnet's letters, particularly an old, confidential Swiss steward, and his nephew, had cheated and plundered their indulgent master; and others, particularly an old groom, who had attended him through the campaigns of the Seven Years' War, and shared with him the dangers of its most sanguinary battles, had served him faithfully.

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